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A NARRATIVE

OF THE

INCIDENTS ATTENDING THE CAPTURE,
DETENTION, AND RANSOM

OF

CHARLES JOHNSTON, b. 1768.

OF BOTETOURT COUNTY, VIRGINIA,

WHO WAS MADE PRISONER BY THE INDIANS, ON THE
RIVER OHIO, IN THE YEAR 1790 ;

TOGETHER WITH

AN INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF THE FATE OF HIS COM-
PANIONS, FIVE IN NUMBER, ONE OF WHOM
SUFFERED AT THE STAKE.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Sketches of

INDIAN CHARACTER AND MANNERS,

WITH

ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY J. & J. HARPER, 82 CLIFF-ST.

1827.

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Clerk's office at Staunton,

Western District of Virginia, to wit :

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 30th day of March, in the fifty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, CHARLES JOHNSTON, of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a Book, the right whereof he claim as Author, in the words following, to wit :

"A Narrative of the Incidents attending the Capture, Detention, and Ransom of Charles Johnston, of Botetnurt County, Virginia, who was made Prisoner by the Indians, on the river Ohio, in the year 1790; together with an interesting Account of the Fate of his Companions, five in number, one of whom suffered at the stake. To which are added, Sketches of Indian Character and Manners, with Illustrative Anecdotes."

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned:" and also to an Act, entitled "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

JEFFERSON KINNEY,

D. Clerk of the Western District of Virginia.

F.A.P.
8-26-31

INTRODUCTION.

THE incidents of my capture on the River Ohio by the Indians, in the year 1790, and of my subsequent detention by them, have been considered, by many gentlemen, on whose candor and intelligence I can rely, of such interest as to merit the attention of the public. My earlier days have been so completely occupied by the business of a very active life, that I can with truth say, I could never spare the time necessary for such a work, until age is advancing upon me, and I find myself able to command a little leisure. But the strongest consideration which has operated on me to engage in this undertaking is, that an extremely incorrect and imperfect narrative was published by the Duke de Liancourt, in the account of his travels in America, which appeared some years ago. Being called to Europe, on matters of business, in 1793, on my return in the following year I crossed the Atlantic in the ship Pigon, commanded by Captain Loxley, bound from London to Philadelphia. The Duke de Liancourt was one of my fellow-passengers. He assumed the name of Aberlib, which, as

he informed me, was that of a Swiss servant formerly in his employment, because he was apprehensive, that in the event of our falling in with a French ship of war, his true name and title being known, might determine its commander to seize his person and carry him to France. On the voyage, as soon as we became acquainted, he selected me, from among a number of other passengers, as the object of his confidence, and imparted to me, and to no other person on board, except the Captain, the circumstances which had compelled him to fly from France, and to seek an asylum in a foreign country from the infuriated party, who had determined on the destruction of the French nobility. In the progress of our acquaintance, he ascertained that I had been a prisoner among the savages, and elicited from me a detail of the circumstances. We had frequent interviews in the cabin, while the other passengers were on deck. But the communication between us was of a nature, which subjected us both to the probability of mistaking the precise sense in which either of us meant to be understood: since he spoke the English language very imperfectly, and I was utterly ignorant of the French. I observed that he committed what I told him to paper, in his own tongue, and therefore inferred it was his intention to publish my story. Upon inquiry, whether this

was his design, his answer left me in a state of uncertainty. But I obtained from him a positive assurance, that if he did publish, he would furnish me with an English translation, to be examined and corrected by me, before it should be issued from the press. The Duke did not execute his promise. I presume it escaped his memory, or, if he wrote me on the subject, his letter miscarried. The first intelligence I obtained on the subject was from the publication itself, which came to my hands not long after it was printed. It is replete with errors, particularly in relation to the names of persons and places.* Facts too are so coloured as to bear some resemblance to truth, while there is an essential variance from it; resulting, in all probability, from the difficulty of our understanding each other accurately. I am perfectly confident, that the Duke has made no intentional misrepresentation.

* A few short specimens of the Duke's mistakes will be sufficient to show the general inaccuracy of his relation. He represents me as making a trip to Kentucky "to examine some witnesses *before the supreme Court of Virginia.*" He calls Kelly's Station "*Kekler's Station.*" Green Briar Court-house, is "*Great Brayer Court-House;*" Jacob Skyles is "*James Skuyl;*" Mockasins are "*Maca-pins;*" the boat in which our party descended the Ohio is a "*Ship;*" and I might cover pages with his errors. These, and his omission of facts, may be perceived by a comparison of his narrative with mine. I could, if necessary, give stronger proof of his imperfect knowledge of our language, by transcribing a letter from him now in my possession, which was written in reply to one that I had addressed to him on the subject of his errors.

The excellence of his heart, and the correctness of his moral principles, place him above all suspicion. But another objection arises, from his omission of many striking details. It shall be my object to present as minute and faithful a narrative, of the occurrences when I was captured, and while in the hands of the savages, as my memory can supply after the lapse of so many years. I can confidently assert, that my recollection of incidents, during a period so calamitous to me, and while my faculties were vigorous, is sufficiently perfect to give them without danger of mistake. Every one, who has attained to my age, must have ascertained by experience, that the striking events of youthful life are fastened indelibly on the memory, and that their impression is more perfect, and is retained with greater precision, than those circumstances which occur to us in our declining years. I entertain no fears that my veracity will be questioned by those to whom I am known ; and I appeal to others, who may read my details, whether they are distinguished by any features, which ought to bring upon them the frowns of incredulity.

Botetourt Springs, }
Virginia, April 10, 1827. }

NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

MR. JOHN MAY, a gentleman of great worth and respectability, formerly resided at Belle-Vue, on the Appomattox river, five miles above the town of Petersburg, in Virginia. He was an early adventurer in the location and purchase of lands in Kentucky, after the settlement of that country commenced. His business was of such a nature and extent as to require the assistance of a clerk. In the year 1788, he offered me such inducements to enter his service, that I did not hesitate to accept his proposals. He was involved in some of those numerous litigations which have resulted, in Virginia and Kentucky, from the mode prescribed by law for acquiring title to unappropriated lands, and among others was engaged in a contest with the late Judge Mercer. In the progress of this contest, it became necessary for Mr. May to procure the depositions of witnesses who lived in the western country; and, in the month of August, 1789, I attended him in a journey made to Kentucky for the purpose of taking those depositions. No remarkable incident occurred in the course of this first trip, and we returned safely into the interior in the succeeding November. But having accomplished our object in part only, we set

out again from his residence, with a view to its completion, in the latter part of February, 1790. We had travelled altogether by land on the first occasion. But in this second journey, Mr. May determined to reach the point of his destination by descending the Kenhawa and Ohio rivers. We proceeded by the usual route to Green Briar Courthouse, where the town of Lewisburg has been since built, which place we left about the 8th or 10th of March. The country between that place and the Kenhawa river, on which we were to embark, was then destitute of inhabitants, and the distance about eighty miles. On the evening of the first day after our departure from Lewisburg, we came up with a party consisting of eight or ten persons, on their way to the Kenhawa. Among them were Col. George Clendiner, and Mr. Jacob Skyles, the latter of whom was on a mercantile adventure, with a stock of dry goods, which he intended to carry down the river to Kentucky. The weather was uncommonly cold; and on that night there was so great a fall of snow, that in the morning we found it nine or ten inches thick on our blankets. We toiled on through a dreary country and unpleasant weather for two or three days longer, and then arrived at Kelly's Station, on the Great Kenhawa. There we contracted for one of those heavy, clumsy, slowly-moving structures, at that time employed on the Ohio for the conveyance of travellers and their property to the western settlements, which had become considerable, and were rapidly increasing. But in the country now forming the State of Ohio, there was not, I believe, the habitation of a white man from Point Pleasant to Symmes's small settlement at the mouth of the Great Miami. At this day the same region comprehends a white population of perhaps seven or

eight hundred thousand ;* sends fourteen representatives to the congress of the United States ; and may be fairly ranked among the most powerful states in the Union. On the margin of the river, then occupied by savages and wild beasts, flourishing towns have arisen, and productive farms appear. On the stream itself, numerous steam boats have supplied the place of the wretched arks, formerly the only vehicles of trade and communication, which laboured along with difficulty, and without profit to their owners. Works of internal improvement have been commenced, which promise the highest benefits to a country enriched by nature with many of her choicest gifts. A great canal, already begun, will probably be completed in the course of a few years, which will yield all the benefits of a direct water communication with New Orleans by the rivers Ohio and Mississippi, and with New-York by Lake Erie and the New-York canal : bearing on its bosom a commerce which will extend, by an interior navigation, from the northern to the southern extreme of the United States. - This is a career of prosperity unequalled even by the rapid progress of other members of the American Union, and unparalleled in history. What a subject of reflection to the statesman and political economist ! What a source of triumph, on the part of the free and thrifty institutions of the western hemisphere, over the strong systems of the eastern ! Nor is this comparative view of the present, and former condition of the country to which it refers, unconnected with my subject. Many inhabitants of the states bordering on the Ohio river have come into exist-

* Mr. Wright, one of the representatives in Congress from that state, in his speech on the Judiciary bill, which I have lately seen, states the population at one million,

once since the occurrence of the incidents which I am about to relate; and might think the facts incredible, if not reminded of the state of things, so utterly different then from what it is now.

Our boat, or ark, for which we had bargained at Kelly's Station, was not ready to receive us until the lapse of several days. We were invited by Col. George Clendiner, who resided at the mouth of Elk river, some seven or eight miles from the Station, and where the town of Charleston has since been built, to spend this interval with him. At his house our time was passed in the utmost comfort, highly enhanced by the liberal, warm, and cordial hospitality, with which we were entertained by him and Mrs. Clendiner. From his dwelling we descended the Great Kenhawa to Point Pleasant, our party consisting of Mr. May, Mr. Skyles, and myself. Upon our arrival at that place, there was an accession to our number, composed of three persons: William Flinn, Dolly Fleming, and Peggy Fleming. Flinn was one of those hardy characters, bred in the young settlements of our country, accustomed to their usual pursuits; the sports of the chase, and hostilities with the Indians. The Miss Flemings were females of an humble condition in life. They were sisters. One of them was the particular friend of Flinn, and the other was her travelling companion. They were residents of Pittsburg, bound for the country down the Ohio river.

CHAPTER II.

WE remained but a short time at Point Pleasant. Having before heard a rumour, that the savages had decoyed a boat, which was descending the river, to the shore, and had killed all who were on board, we there came to the resolution, that no circumstances, no consideration, should induce us to venture on the land, until our arrival at Limestone. Those with whom we conversed at the Point, advised us, too, by no means to hazard ourselves on shore ; since the intelligence received at that place was, that various parties of Indians were lurking about the banks of the Ohio. How far we adhered to our resolution, or attended to the information which we had obtained, will be seen in the sequel. The water was high in the river, which afforded us great facility in getting along. We had nothing more to do, than to gain the middle of the stream, and permit our heavy and unwieldy boat to float down. Our numbers were too few, and our experience as watermen too limited, to accelerate our progress beyond the rate at which the current flowed. But there was perfect safety, while we remained out of musket or rifle shot from the shore. In that there was no difficulty, as the part of the river, down which we were to pass, was about a mile in width. We apprehended no danger from any attempt which the savages might make to board us, while we were at a distance from land, because such attempts were not in conformity to their habits ; the gunwales of our boat were so high, that we were competent to the successful resistance of

a party much larger than our own ; and Mr. May, Skyles, Flinn, and I, were provided with fire arms. It is true, they were nothing better than ordinary fowling pieces, except Mr. Skyles's, which was a small neat rifle. But they seemed to us sufficient for our purposes, and would probably have proven so, if our indiscretion had not placed us completely in the power of our foes, and where the best weapons could not be employed with any chance of advantage.

Our boat was steered by an oar at the stern, and the male passengers performed that service in rotation. We had descended the river nearly to the junction of the Sciota, when about dawn of day, on the 20th of March, we were called up by Flinn, who stood at the steering oar. He turned our attention to a smoke, which he had discovered, and which was suspended in the atmosphere about the height of the tree-tops, on both sides of the river. We instantly determined to ascertain on which bank the fire that produced this smoke was burning, and then to bear from it towards the other. After a short time, we saw distinctly, that the smoke ascended from a fire on the north-western shore ; and we began to turn towards the south-eastern, when we perceived two white men on the same side of the river where the fire was. They called to us, and implored us to receive them on board our boat, declaring, that they had been taken prisoners by the Indians some weeks before, at Kennedy's Bottom in Kentucky ; had been led by their captors across the Ohio, and had been so fortunate as to escape from their hands that they were suffering with the severest distress of cold and hunger, and must perish, or again fall into the power of their enemies, unless they were rescued

by us from the miserable fate which awaited them. They continued down the bank of the river abreast of us, and repeated their story with cries and wailings, until the suspicions which had arisen in our minds on their first appearance, began to be weakened. At length they pressed their tale upon us with so much earnestness, and stated so many minute particulars connected with it, that our feelings were excited towards them, and we discussed the question of going on shore. We had first inquired from them as to the smoke which we had seen rising from their side of the river; but they denied that there was any fire. This falsehood, conclusively disproved by the evidence of our eyes, ought to have determined us to close our ears against all they told us. We proceeded, however, with the discussion. Flinn, and the two females, accustomed from their early lives, like most of the first settlers on our frontier, to think lightly of danger from Indians, urged us to land. Mr. May, Mr. Skyles, and I, opposed it. We laid great stress on the fact, that the two white men had not told the truth with respect to the fire, and therefore were not worthy of credit. But Flinn's reply was, that they were under the necessity of kindling fire in the cold weather which then prevailed, and were unwilling to acknowledge they had any, lest we might suspect there were Indians on the shore. By this time our progress on the water was so much faster than theirs on land, that we had gone far below them, and were almost out of reach of their voices. Flinn then proposed a scheme by which, according to his mode of reasoning, all the hazard of landing would be thrown upon himself alone, without exposure to the rest of our party. He said we had gained on them so much, that if there

were any Indians, we must be greatly ahead of them ; might touch the shore only long enough for him to leap on it, and immediately turn the boat into the stream again, where we would be safe : that if our apprehensions of Indians were well founded, he could perceive them as soon as they could see him ; that he had no fears but he could escape by outrunning them ; and that he would rejoin us the next day at Limestone, whither he would proceed on foot. On the contrary, should our fears prove groundless, we could put back, and take him and the two men on board. Believing this plan could be carried into effect in safety, and our hearts at the same moment yielding to the feelings of humanity, all on board immediately and fatally acceded to this proposition, without reflecting, that in crossing the current we should cease to move as rapidly as we had while going directly with it. The consequence was, we were so long in getting to the shore, that by the time we had reached it and had put Flinn out, to our utter astonishment and dismay, we beheld a party of Indians, completely armed after their manner, rushing upon us. Their number was not great, since none but the swiftest could gain the spot where we landed as soon as the boat reached it. We therefore determined on resistance. Mr. Skyles and I took up our guns for that purpose ; but the main body of the Indians, who had concealed themselves from our view by keeping in the back ground as they ran at some distance from the river, began to come up. When Mr. May perceived their numbers thus increasing, he remonstrated against so unequal a contest, and urged that our attention and exertions should be directed to the single object of getting back into the current. But the height of the water was

such, that our boat was involved among the numerous and strong branches of a large tree which bent from the bank ; and while we in vain endeavoured, by all the means in our power, to extricate ourselves, the whole body of Indians, fifty-four in number, after firing a few scattering shot as they came up, took a position not farther than sixty feet from us, and, rending the air with the horrible war-whoop, poured their whole fire into our boat. Resistance was hopeless—to get from the shore impossible. In this state of despair, we protected ourselves from their fire by lying down in the bottom of the boat, but not until the Indians had killed Dolly Fleming, who had taken shelter behind me, and received a ball in the corner of her mouth which passed close over my left shoulder. Skyles was wounded by a rifle bullet, which ranged across his back from one shoulder to the other. Our enemies continued to fire into the boat, until all our horses were killed. The danger to which we were already exposed was aggravated by these animals. They were so frightened by the smell of powder and the discharge of guns, that it was extremely difficult to avoid their trampling on us before they were shot ; and after they fell, it was barely possible to keep clear of the kicks and struggles which they made in their dying agonies. After they were killed, the firing ceased, and all was quiet on board. Mr. May, who had not taken off his night-cap since he awoke in the morning, then rose on his feet, and, taking it from his head, held it up as a signal of surrender. Seeing him rise, I reminded him of the danger to which he would be exposed by standing up, and entreated him to lie down again. But it was too late. About the moment when I spoke, the fire recommenced, and

this excellent man fell dead by a ball shot through his brain, while I supposed that he had taken my advice and had lain down of his own accord. Nor did I discover my mistake until, casting my eyes on him a short time afterwards, his face, covered with blood, and the mark of the ball in his forehead, too plainly indicated his fate. Once more the fire from the bank was discontinued. Flinn, by the time he had reached the top of the bank, was their prisoner: Mr. May and Dolly Fleming were killed: Mr. Skyles was wounded: Peggy Fleming and I remained unhurt. The savages then made their arrangements for taking possession of our boat, and immediately carried them into effect. About twenty of them plunged into the water and swam to us, with tomahawks in their hands, while the rest stood with their rifles pointed towards us, for the purpose of destroying us in the event of resistance to the boarding party. When I found them climbing up the side of the boat, I rose, and reaching my hand to the Indian nearest me, assisted him in getting in; proceeding then to the others, I helped as many of them on board, in like manner, as I could. When they entered, they shook hands with me, crying out in broken English, "How de do! How de do!" I returned their salutation by a hearty squeeze of the hand, as if glad to see them. The truth was, I expected, at the moment when we were made prisoners, that all would be put to the tomahawk. Finding our reception so different from what I had anticipated, the kind greetings which I gave them were not altogether feigned. After the momentary confusion produced by the capture was over, they pushed the boat to the shore, when the remainder of the party entered it, with their rifles in their hands. They also shook hands with us, appearing

to be highly delighted at the success of their enterprise. After the transports of the moment had in a degree subsided, some began to examine into the booty they had taken, consisting principally of the dry goods belonging to Mr. Skyles, whilst others were employed in scalping and stripping the dead. After this operation was performed, the bodies of Mr. May and Dolly Fleming were thrown into the river. The party then all went on shore, taking the prisoners and the booty along with them.

The first thing now to be attended to, was the kindling of a fire, which was soon done. We were immediately afterwards stripped of the greater part of our clothes. The weather was uncommonly cold for the month of March. I wore a surtout and broadcloth coat over a red waistcoat. When these were unbuttoned, and the red vest was discovered, an Indian of the name of Chick-a-tom-mo, who had the chief command, and could speak some English, exclaimed, "Oh! you cappatain?" I answered in the negative. Then he said, pointing to his own breast, "Me cappatain—all dese," pointing to the other Indians, "my sogers." After taking my outer clothes, one of them repeated the word, "Swap—swap"—and demanded that I should give him my shirt for his, a greasy, filthy garment, that had not been washed during the whole winter. I was in the act of drawing it over my head, in compliance with his demand, when another Indian behind me, whose name I afterwards learned was Tom Lewis, pulled it back, and after reproaching the first for his unkindness, took the blanket from his own shoulders and threw it over mine. After this occurrence, I seated myself by the fire. Having now some leisure for reflection, I began to consider of the awful situation into which I had

been thus suddenly plunged. No human being, who has not experienced a similar misfortune, is capable of conceiving the horror which thrilled through my frame upon finding myself a captive to these ruthless barbarians, and at the mercy of an enemy who knew no mercy. Bred up with an instinctive horror of Indians and of Indian cruelties, it was a situation which, of all others, I had most deprecated. I felt as if cut off for ever, from my friends and from the world: already my imagination placed me at the stake, and I saw the flames about to be kindled around me.

I had not remained long in this situation, when the scalps of Mr. May and Miss Fleming, which had been stretched upon sticks bent into a circular form, were placed before me at the fire to be dried. The sight of these scalps, thus unfeelingly placed immediately in my view; the reflection that one of them had been torn from the head of a female by our ferocious captors: the other from a man who had engaged my esteem and friendship; with whom I had embarked on a plan of business now utterly frustrated; and that a much more cruel destiny than his was probably reserved for me, operated with an effect which I should in vain attempt to describe.

CHAPTER III.

THE two white men, who had decoyed us on shore, now made their appearance. The name of one was Divine, the other Thomas. As soon as

they came up, sensible of the strong imputation from us to which their conduct had subjected them, they began a course of apology and exculpation. They solemnly declared, that they had been compelled by the Indians to act the part which had brought us into their hands; that they had really been taken off from Kennedy's Bottom some weeks before; and expressed great concern, that they had been the unwilling instruments of our captivity. We hesitated to believe them: and our doubts were increased as far as related to Divine, when a negro man who had been captured by the Indians some time before, and had continued with them ever since, arrived. He informed us, that Thomas had been extremely averse to any share in the scheme of treachery which had been practised upon us: but that Divine alone had devised it and carried it into effect, on a promise which he obtained from the Indians, that they would set him at liberty if he should procure for them other white prisoners in his stead. All the intelligence we obtained on this subject induced clearly the opinion with us, that Divine's guilt was unquestionable, and that Thomas had been an involuntary agent. About the time of the negro's arrival, six squaws, most of them old women, with two white children, a girl and a boy, the former about ten or eleven years of age, the latter perhaps a year or two older, joined us. They belonged to a family which had been taken prisoners in Kentucky, and from which they had been separated.

Skyles's wound was painful, and Flinn was permitted to examine it. He ascertained that the ball had entered at the point of one shoulder, had ranged towards the other, and was lodged against it. He then made an incision with a razor, and extracted it. One of the squaws washed the wound; caught

the bloody water from it in a tin cup ; and required Skyles to drink it, giving him to understand that by doing so the cure would be expedited.

The fire, by this time, had been considerably extended : it was at least fifty feet in length. The Indians were all seated around it. Their rifles were arranged in a line in their rear, and so near, that each individual could lay his hand on his own in an instant. They were supported by long small poles, placed horizontally about three feet high on forks, and were neatly and regularly disposed. Our captors consisted of Indians from various tribes. There were Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots, and Cherokees. Much the largest number were Shawanese. An old chief of that tribe took a position at one end of the line of fire, and harangued the party for ten or fifteen minutes. He frequently raised his eyes and pointed to the sun, sometimes to the earth, and then to me. We were incapable of comprehending the business which occupied them, and were in a state of the most disquieting alarm ; but *my* apprehensions were peculiarly excited, because he pointed at me, and at neither of the other captives. This circumstance, however, was soon explained, when at the close of his speech, Chickatommo conducted me to an Indian seated on the ground, and placed me at his side, telling me, that was *my friend* ; whose name I afterwards ascertained was Mes-shaw-a, and that he belonged to the Shawanese tribe. Chickatommo then addressed the party from the same spot, on which the old Shawanese chief had stood, and very much after the same manner : but he pointed at Skyles, and when he had concluded his speech, delivered him to the custody of another Shawanese. The same ceremony was observed with respect

to Peggy Fleming and Flinn. She was allotted to the Cherokees, and Flinn to the Shawanese. Why neither of us went to the Delawares or Wyandots, we were unable then to conjecture. But the probability is, that as those tribes were at peace with the whites, the individuals of them who belonged to the party of our captors, were unwilling to incur the hazard of involving their people in war, by accepting any of the prisoners. Their presence on this occasion is sufficiently accounted for by recollecting, that young men of all the savage tribes frequently go out on predatory excursions, without consulting their chiefs or nation. The Cherokees, I believe, were not then engaged in open hostilities with us. Yet they were not influenced by any such scruples as those which governed the Delawares and Wyandots, because, perhaps, as it was their intention to bear off their captive to the Villages of Indians on the Sandusky, or Miami of the lake, they did not apprehend a discovery of their conduct by the whites, or their own tribe, and were not disposed to forego the gratification of accepting a prisoner from the Shawanees as a reward for their assistance in making captures on the river. The Delawares and Wyandots were about to return to their own towns, and would have offended their people by bringing among them prisoners from a nation with whom they professed to be at peace.

After the distribution of the captives, Divine, Thomas, and Flinn, were required by the Indians to prepare four additional oars for the boat which they had taken from us, and with which it was their intention to attack any other boat, or boats, that might be passing down while they remained on the river. The first night of our captivity was spent in the most painful anticipations. Next morning, at

an early hour, our foes were busily occupied in rendering their aspect as terrific as possible, by painting their faces in the manner which will be hereafter described, when I shall speak of the war-dance. Each individual was provided with a small looking-glass, which he held before him while laying on the paint, and which was placed in a frame with a short handle, and a string through a hole in the end of it, for the purpose of tying it to his pack. This process was preparatory to their intended attack on any white persons who might be passing on the river, and is never omitted by them when they expect to encounter an enemy.

About ten o'clock, a canoe, containing six men, was observed to ascend the river slowly under the opposite bank. All the prisoners were compelled to go to the side of the water, for the purpose of inducing those who were in the canoe to cross over, and to come under the command of the Indian rifles. I vainly hoped that it would be in my power, by some signal or contrivance, to apprise these unfortunate persons of their danger, and to prevent their running headlong into such a snare as had succeeded against us. But in this hope I was disappointed. Divine, ingenious in wicked stratagems, seemed to be perfectly gratified to aid the savages in their views, and to feel no scruples in suggesting means for their accomplishment. He fabricated a tale, that we were passengers down the Ohio, whose boat had suffered so great an injury, that we were unable to proceed until it was repaired; but that, for want of an axe, it was impossible for us to do the necessary work. These unsuspecting canoe-men turned towards us: but the current bore them down so far below us, as to preclude all chance of my putting them on their guard. The Indians, as

they had acted in our case, ran down the river at such a distance from it, and under cover of the woods, that they were not discovered until the canoe was close to the shore, when they fired into it, and shot every one on board. As they tumbled into the water, their little bark was upset. Two, who were not yet dead, kept themselves afloat, but were so severely wounded that they could not swim off. The Indians leaped into the river, and after dragging them to the shore, despatched them with the tomahawk. The bodies of the four who were killed were also brought to land, and the whole six were scalped.* All were then thrown into the river. Nothing I could then learn, or which has since come to my knowledge, has enabled me to understand who these unfortunate sufferers were.

On the same day, two or three hours afterwards, three boats, standing down the river, came into view. I do not know why, on this occasion, the Indians relinquished the plan of treacherous deception, which had in two preceding instances eventuated to their wish. They now waited until these boats reached the point in the river directly opposite to them; when they commenced an ineffectual fire with their rifles. The Ohio was there so wide, that their bullets fell far short of their objects; and after the boats had passed below us, the savages obliged all the male captives to get into the boat taken from

* They perform the process of scalping without regard to the size of the portion of skin taken from the crown of the head. If, in their haste to cut it off, they take more than is sufficient for their purpose, they afterwards, when at leisure, pare it down in a round shape to the diameter of about two inches. Doctor Robertson, in a note to his history of America, says: "It was originally the practice of the Americans, as well as of other savage nations, to cut off the heads of the enemies they slew, and to carry them away as trophies. But as they found these cumbersome in their retreat, which they always made very rapidly, and often through a vast extent of country, they became satisfied with tearing off their scalps."

Mr. May, now provided with the additional oars made on the day before. Every Indian too, jumped into that boat, and as they were unpractised in the use of the oar, the labour of plying it was consigned to us. Our captors stood over us, and compelled us to exert our strength in rowing; an art, in which we had as little experience as themselves. But we took care, unskilful as we were, to avoid striking all at the same time with our oars. Yet as those whom we pursued had only one pair of oars in each boat, and we had two pair in ours, we shuddered for the event. Good management on the part of the passengers in the three boats, and intentional mismanagement on our part, saved them from the imminent danger to which they were exposed. The middle boat waited for that in the rear, received the people from it, together with their oars, and pressed forward to overtake the headmost boat. By much effort they came alongside, and all entered it, having then many hands to relieve each other in rowing, and six oars to our four. To our great joy, they shot rapidly ahead of us; when the Indians, giving up the chase of the boat which they now perceived they could not overtake, turned their attention to the two which were adrift, and which contained the property that had been abandoned in them. A rich booty for our captors was found on board. It consisted principally of dry goods and groceries, intended for Lexington in Kentucky. There were some very fine horses too in them, among which I recognised two remarkable animals, a mare and a horse, belonging to Mr. Thomas Marshall, brother of the Chief Justice, with whom Mr. May and I had travelled through the wilderness on our return from the west in the preceding year. That gentleman's hat was also among the relin-

quished articles. I recognised it at a glimpse. It was one of the cocked hats worn at that time, and a small piece had been cut or torn from the point which was worn in front. If we had overtaken strangers in these boats, and they had been captured or put to death by the savages, it would have been an affliction to me sufficiently bitter. But what would have been the aggravation of my sufferings, had the passengers, or any of them, in the event of our coming up with them, proved to be my intimates and friends.

The boats were taken to the shore, and their contents landed. The chiefs distributed the plunder among their followers, in a manner that seemed perfectly satisfactory to all. Flour, sugar, and chocolate, formed a part of their acquisitions. They probably believed that I understood the subject of making flour into bread better than they did, and that duty was required of me. I was furnished with the undressed skin of a deer, which was most disgustingly stained, by having been used as a saddle on the sore back of a horse, and was now to answer the purpose of a tray. I commenced my new employment by baking a number of loaves in the ashes. There was more dough than the fire would contain; and it struck me, that I would make the remainder into small dumplings and boil them in a kettle of chocolate then on the fire. All savages are particularly fond of sweet things. To gratify this taste, they had on the present occasion mixed a large portion of sugar with the chocolate, which in the operation of boiling infused itself into the dumplings and made them quite sweet. They were so delighted with this new, and, to them, delicious dish, that they appeared to consider me a very clever fellow as a cook, and continued me in that

employment as long as I was their prisoner. They then indulged to the utmost excess in drinking whiskey found on board one of the boats. But they observed a precaution which, I believe, is never neglected by them in those situations which call on them for vigilance. A sufficient number for safe keeping and guarding their captives refrained from tasting the spirituous liquor, and had watchful eyes over us. The rest of the party drank to deep intoxication, in which Flinn went as far as any of them, and had a battle with one of the Indians, whom he easily vanquished. Some of the rest endeavoured to assist their combatant, when others interposed in Flinn's favour, and protected him from attack, declaring that such treatment as he had received would only be tolerated by women, and that having acted like *a man*, they would not suffer him to be abused. Their invariable habit is, not to quit the bottle or cask while a drop of strong drink remains ; and they poured it down their throats until their stock was exhausted. This occurred in the course of the succeeding night.

In the mean time, we were separated by our guard from those who were intoxicated, and removed to some distance from them, when we laid down to sleep. Skyles and I were resolved on seizing the earliest occasion, which the course of incidents should present, for effecting our escape. We flattered ourselves, that the senseless intoxication into which the main party were plunged, the darkness of the night, or a momentary relaxation of vigilance on the part of our guard, might furnish the golden opportunity. Our scheme was, to get into one of the boats lying under the bank of the river, and to drop without noise down the stream. If we could get but a little distance from the shore

unperceived, there would be a good prospect of success. We remained silent until we believed that all our sentinels were asleep. We then commenced a conversation in whispers, which we presumed would not be heard; or, if heard, would not be understood by our guard, who knew nothing of the English language. But the wakeful suspicions of our keepers were always on the alert; and when our whispers reached their ears, they deduced the most unfavourable inferences, and put an end, at least for the present, to all our hopes, by confining us closely with cords. Soon after this was done, one of the drunken Indians straggled from his companions, and came to us, brandishing his scalping knife. He quickly worked himself up into a great rage, and throwing himself across the body of Skyles, fastened on his hair and was determined to take off his scalp. It was with some difficulty that he was prevented, by those who were sober, from effecting his object. Resistance on the part of the prisoner was utterly beyond his power. They had secured both of us completely, by tying us down, in a manner which will be hereafter more minutely explained. During the night, Divine and Thomas secretly disappeared, without an effort, that we could discover, on the part of the Indians to detain them.

CHAPTER IV.

ON the following day, the Indians seemed to think that their booty was of sufficient value to be worth carrying to their towns, and we took our departure from the Ohio in the afternoon. But all did not move off together. Those to whom Flinn belonged remained at the river, and we never saw them or him afterwards. When we began our march, a cow, taken in one of the boats which had been abandoned on the preceding day, as I have already related, was committed to my care. I was required to lead her by a rope secured to her horns. This creature perplexed me exceedingly. I suppose she had not been accustomed to travel in this way. She resisted my exertions to get her forward. She would leave the track on which we walked, and frequently when I passed on one side of a tree, she would insist on taking the other; to the great diversion of the Indians, who laughed immoderately at the difficulties into which they had brought me with this unmanageable animal.

Late in the evening we reached an encampment, where our captors had probably spent some time before we fell into their hands. It was about five miles from the river, and they had left a number of horses, stolen from the settlements of Kentucky, a quantity of dried bear's meat, venison, peltry, and some of their people, at this retired spot. It was a rich valley, where there was no undergrowth of timber, but a luxuriance of tender grass below a covering of thick weeds, which protected it from the effects of frost and cold. This encampment

was provided with shelters from the weather, composed of skins stretched over poles in the form of a tent. The valley in which it was situated afforded subsistence for their horses. Here, to my great relief, they took the cow off my hands by slaughtering her. After breakfast, on the next day, Chickatommoo, attended by a party belonging to his tribe, and by the Cherokees with Peggy Fleming, left the encampment. The horses, (all of which he took with him,) were packed with the meat and peltry. The rest of the party followed not long after these. We travelled through a trackless wilderness, abounding in game, on which the Indians depended entirely for subsistence during the journey. Their plan was, to carry home the dried meat for the summer use of their families. On the first or second day's progress, the Indians observed a tree, the bark of which was marked by the claws of a bear, easily distinguished by these sagacious and experienced hunters. They immediately went to work with axes which were found in the captured boats, and soon felled the tree. Two very small cubs were found in its hollow trunk. Their dam, attracted by the noise at her den, came up when the tree fell, and was shot. We regaled ourselves upon the flesh of the cubs, which to me was excellent eating, although the manner of dressing was not such as to improve its quality or to suit a delicate taste. Their entrails were taken out, and after the hair was thoroughly singed from their carcasses; heads, and feet, they were roasted whole. On the next day, a remarkably fat bear was killed, and we remained on the ground where he was taken, until all his meat was consumed.

The Indians now indicated a disposition to loiter and throw away time, very little in unison with the im-

patience which I felt to move on as rapidly as possible. I had conceived, and could not help cherishing the hope, that at our arrival at their towns it might be my good fortune to meet with some compassionate trader, who would, by ransom or otherwise, relieve me from the sufferings and dangers of my captivity. An accident, in other respects unimportant, subjected me to a night's torture. The savages, apprehensive of possible danger from pursuit, had left a few of their party in their rear, to watch on their track, and to give them timely intelligence of any attempt that might be made by the whites to overtake them, and wrest from them either their prisoners or their plunder. To the few, thus left in the rear, my sentinel and protector, Meshawa, belonged. In his absence, I was committed to the custody of another Shawanese, altogether unlike him in temper and character. When he was about to secure my arms at night, by lashing a rope around them, I injudiciously and without reflection complained that he drew the rope too tight. Upon which he exclaimed, "Damn you soul!" and tightened it with all the vigour he could exert, so closely, that by the morning it was buried in the flesh of one of my arms. I could obtain no rest; and when Meshawa came up with us the next day, it was exceedingly swelled and throbbed with agony. At the moment of his arrival he loosened the ligature from my limb, and harshly rebuked the other for the severity of his conduct towards me.

The Indians still continued the habit of daily lounging. If a bear was killed, and they swallowed a plentiful repast of it; or if any other food was procured, which afforded them an abundant meal; immediately after satisfying their appetites, they laid themselves down to sleep. When they

awoke, if a sufficiency was yet in the camp, they would again eat plentifully, and sleep as before. Some packs of cards were found among other articles of their plunder from the boats. With these they amused themselves daily, by playing a game entirely new to me, which, when interpreted into English, was called "Nosey." Only two hands were dealt out, and the object of each player was, by a mode of play which I do not now recollect, to retain a part of the cards in his own possession at the close of the hand, and to get all from his adversary. When this was done, the winner had a right to a number of fillips, at the nose of the loser, equal to the number of cards remaining in the winner's hand. When the operation of the winner was about to begin, the loser would place himself firmly in his seat, assuming a solemn gravity of countenance, and not permitting the slightest change in any muscle of his face. At every fillip the bystanders would burst into a peal of laughter, while the subject of the process was required to abstain completely even from a smile; and the penalty was doubled on him if he violated this rule. It is astonishing to what an excess they were delighted with this childish diversion. After two had played for some time, others would take their places, and the game was often continued hour after hour.

While the Indians were employed in this amusement, I endeavoured to begin, and intended to keep, a journal of my travels. I was very imperfectly provided with the means of accomplishing my purpose. A copy of the Debates of the Convention of Virginia, assembled to decide on the adoption or rejection of the Federal Constitution, was found in one of the boats taken on the Ohio. I had brought it from that river to serve as a source

of amusement ; and on the margins of its pages I determined to write my notes. The quill of a wild turkey was the best I could procure, of which I made a pen with a scalping knife. I furnished myself with ink by mixing water and coal dust together, and began my daily minutes of our progress and its incidents. This attracted the attention, but did not excite the disquiet, of the Indians. Tom Lewis, the same who gave me the blanket, when another was about to strip me of my shirt, after I had written some lines of my journal, took it from my hands, carried it to the others who were sitting around the fire, and showed it to them all. They seemed gratified and surprised at what indicated, in their opinion, something extraordinary about me, which, however, they could not comprehend.

When the party had satisfied themselves with "Nosey," we resumed our march, and arrived at a large branch of the Sciota, which is, I believe, the same that is marked, on an excellent map of the State of Ohio in my possession, by the name of Salt Creek. My shoes had been taken from me, and one of the squaws had made me a pair of mockasins from the leather of a greasy pair of old leggings. I was in front when we came to the edge of the water. The stream was rapid. I was unacquainted with its depth, could not swim, and hesitated to enter. An old woman, who was next behind me, took the lead, carrying a staff in her hand, with which she supported herself against the force of the current. If a man had gone in before me, I should still have hesitated ; but being confident that I could wade safely wherever the old woman could get along, I followed her. The bed of the creek was formed entirely of round smooth stones,

from which my greasy mockasins were so incessantly slipping, that I was every moment in extreme danger of losing my feet, and gained the opposite bank with the utmost difficulty.

CHAPTER V.

IN the course of two or three days we came up with Chickatommo and his party, who had waited for us. The Cherokees, with their prisoner Peggy Fleming, had separated themselves from the Shawanese chief, and had taken a different route from that which we were to follow. The deportment of this girl was a subject of no little astonishment to me. I had expected, that the distressing occurrences which had befallen us, and the gloomy prospect before us; the destruction of nearly all the party, and the death of her sister before her eyes; her own captivity and probably dreadful fate; would have plunged her into grief and despondency. But no such effect was produced. On the contrary, from the day of our capture, up to the time when she was borne off by the Cherokees, she seemed to be perfectly indifferent to the horrors of her situation. She enjoyed a high flow of spirits; and, indeed, I had never seen any one who appeared to be more contented and happy.

About this period of our journey, we came to a line of trees which had been marked by surveyors: a class of persons against whom the savages entertain the deepest and most malignant hatred; because they consider them the agents by whom their

lands are laid off and taken from them, and because they are invariably harbingers of occupancy and settlement by the whites. The view of the trees, with the chops of the axe on their bark, irritated our party so highly, that we had reason to fear for our immediate safety. They poured forth curses on us, with a bitterness and fury that continued for some time : nor did they become calm again, until we had gone some distance beyond the marked line.

Incidents of this kind, occurring every day, I might almost say every hour, necessarily subjected us to frequent and severe suffering. But the miseries of the night were more uniform. Before we went to rest, our captors adopted the most rigorous measures for securing us. Our arms were pinioned by a strong rope of buffalo hide, which was stretched in a straight line, and each end secured to a tree. Our keepers laid themselves by us on these ropes, three or four on each side : but they were at liberty to change their positions, while we could only lie on our backs. We were generally placed on different sides, sometimes on the same side of the fire. No covering was allowed me, except a child's blanket ; for that which Tom Lewis had thrown over my shoulders on the first day of my captivity, had been restored to him as soon as the morning cold subsided. Skyles's blanket was much larger than mine, but we were not permitted to keep each other warm, by lying together, or bringing our bed clothes into a joint stock. The fire usually burnt down about the time when we awoke, fatigued with our position, and benumbed with cold. The residue of the night was nothing more than a series of severe pains ; and when morning arrived, I was frequently incapable of

standing on my feet, until the warmth of the fire restored my strength. A deer-skin under us formed our sole protection from the cold and dampness of the earth.

Skyles and I repeatedly conversed on a plan of escape which we meditated, but the execution of which we agreed, for the present, to delay. The weather had been for some time dry. The vast multitude of leaves, with which the ground was covered in the woods through which we travelled, rendered it impossible to pass over them in their present state, however cautiously, without producing a noise so loud as to reach with certainty the ears of the Indians, and to betray our flight. We hoped for rain before the expiration of many days, and were resolved on an attempt to regain our liberty as soon as the moist state of the leaves would permit us to walk among them unheard. Skyles had carefully concealed a knife in the pocket of his breeches, with which he intended to cut the cords that confined us at some favourable hour of the night; and it was our design then to run off into the woods, whatever might be the hazard of wandering about, destitute as we were, in the solitary wilds of the extensive forest by which we were surrounded. But unluckily, one morning, when he rose from the spot on which he had slept, I discovered the knife lying on his deer skin, and believing myself unobserved by the Indians, I pointed it out to him. They, however, perceived it as quickly as he did, and instantly stripped our breeches from both of us. To supply their place, we were furnished with such covering as the Indians themselves were accustomed to wear.

Skyles had, until this period, carried five English guineas in his watch-pocket. When he was re-

quired to take off his breeches, several squaws were present. He therefore stepped a short distance aside ; dropped the gold on the earth among the leaves ; and pretending to employ himself in darning the legs of his stockings with a needle and thread, borrowed from one of the squaws, he took care to keep his back turned towards the party until he made a bag for his money out of a part of the linen of his shirt, which he cut off with a pair of scissors lent by the same squaw from whom he had obtained the needle and thread. This bag he carried under the covering which was around his waist, and we valued its contents as a fund from which we might derive substantial benefit, should we ever reach a place where comforts could be procured. But we had not travelled longer than three or four days, when the pieces of gold wore a hole through the linen bag, and were all lost.

The incident of the knife disposed the Indians to adopt a greater degree of rigour towards us than had been before practised. When we lay down to sleep at night, each of us had one end of a cord tied around his neck, and the other extended and fastened to a tree or stake five or six feet from his head. From this cord a small bell was suspended, which rattled with the slightest motion of our bodies, and announced to the whole party that we were stirring ; and on every such occasion their vigilant attention was directed towards us. When this mode of confining us was first resorted to, the circumstances by which it was attended excited great alarm, and subjected us to the most painful terror for several hours. We had halted, early in the afternoon, in a small prairie. The Indians brought from an adjacent wood six strong stakes, which they drove securely into the ground. The bark

was taken off; each stake was painted red: and a cord, fixed around the neck of each prisoner, seemed to indicate preparations for an awful event. Skyles was extremely terrified. My conjecture was, that nothing more was designed by the Indians than to take some new measure for retaining us securely in their power. The course of reasoning by which I endeavoured to allay the agitation of Skyles's mind, was ineffectual; and he at last begged that I would snatch up one of the rifles placed near us, and put him to death. The evening passed off; the hour of rest arrived; and we discovered that their arrangements looked no farther than to our safe keeping.

The cords put around our necks were, during the day, bound up at the ends into a sort of club, which hung down behind. This club on Skyles's neck reached precisely to his wound, which it severely annoyed and irritated. Yet the Indians loaded him with a very heavy pack, of which he could not venture to complain; because, in that event, he well knew, that his unfeeling master would aggravate the evil, by doubling his burden. As to myself, I had regularly borne a large weight of booty on my back from the encampment near the Ohio river, and was never permitted to travel without an uncommonly heavy rifle barrel, which, in addition to my pack, incommoded me most grievously.

It is the habit of these Indians, to treasure up all the bear's oil which they collect during the hunting season, and carry it to their villages for home use. It is put up in deer skins, which are stripped from the animal with as little splitting as possible, and the openings necessarily made are carefully and securely closed. These skins, when filled, are

usually transported on horses, each horse bearing two. The oil is eaten with their jerked venison, and is as palatable an addition to that article of food, as butter is to bread. On one occasion, those of the party who had charge of the horses, had started from our encampment in the morning sooner than the rest, and had, perhaps inadvertently, left on the ground one of these skin-bags of bear's oil. When the foot party were about to commence their march they discovered it, and I was required to bear it. The bag was accordingly placed on my back, secured by a hoppas,* whilst my pack and rifle barrel were carried by one of the Indians. I found it a much heavier burden than I had before sustained. Ignorant as yet of their temper towards me, and apprehensive of mischief, should I manifest a refractory spirit, I determined to bear this oppressive load as long as my strength could endure it. I staggered along under its weight for perhaps a mile, or more; when, unable any longer to support it, I threw it down. My usual pack was then given to me, and the oppressive weight from which I had relieved myself was taken up by one of the party and carried forward till we overtook those who were mounted, without any appearance of displeasure on their part at my conduct.

Very soon after our capture, they invented names for Skyles and myself. I was called Ketesselo.

* The *hoppas* is a strap, fourteen or fifteen feet long, by which the pack is secured to the back. It is about two and a half inches wide in the middle, and gradually narrows towards each end to the width of one inch, or three fourths of an inch. A length of near two feet, in the middle, or broadest part, is very closely woven, and neatly ornamented with beads and porcupine's quills, stained of various colours, and tastefully wrought into fanciful forms. The hoppas is so tied to the pack, that this ornamented portion passes over the breast and upper part of the arms, and is all that can be seen in front. It is curiously plaited by the hand, and is made from the bark of a wild plant closely resembling hemp, and quite as strong.

Whether this word was intended to express any particular idea, or whether any precise meaning was conveyed by it, I could not learn. The appellation, in their language, by which they distinguished my fellow-prisoner, does not occur to my memory. But its English is, "Stinking white man;" applied to my unfortunate friend, because his wound had become offensive to the smell, although I was in the habit of washing it for him regularly every day.

At length, after a journey of ten or twelve days, we arrived on the eastern bank of the Sciota, at a point where our party determined to cross the river. But the water was too deep to be passed by fording; and all were soon employed in preparing a raft for the transportation of the men, women, prisoners, and baggage. The horses swam over. The dead timber, selected for constructing the raft, was felled and carried on the shoulders of the men to the waterside. A log had been cut, which was so large and heavy, that two persons were not able to carry it. Some of the party assisted a couple of their people to get the smaller end of this log on their shoulders, whilst I was required to bear the larger. They aided me in taking it up, but I quickly perceived that the burden was beyond my strength; and after staggering with it a short distance, there was no alternative but to throw it down. I called to the men who were in front of me with the smaller end, and told them in English, for I could not speak their language, what I was about to do. They probably did not understand me; and when I dashed the log to the ground, its whole weight by the sudden jolt was thrown so violently upon them, as to bring them to the earth with the log upon them. This roused them to a pitch of rage which might have seriously endangered my life, had not the in-

jury which they received been so severe, that it was not in their power for some time to rise. But the incident was a subject of high sport to their brethren, who roared with laughter, while my fellow-labourers were repeatedly crying, "Damn Ketesselo!—Damn Ketesselo!" It is remarkable, that although only two Indians of this party understood or could speak our language, yet there was not one of them who did not utter curses in English; and all had caught the common salutation, "How-d'ye-do?" A consequence, which I did not regret, resulted from the adventure of the log. I was no longer required to aid in conveying the trunks of trees to the river. The raft was completed by securing together the logs which composed it with grapevines, and we all went over on it by making several trips.

CHAPTER VI.

Not long after passing the Sciota, we fell in with a hunting party, who encamped not far from us. Some of our Indians conducted me to their encampment; narrated boastfully the occurrences of our capture, and of their chasing the boats on the Ohio; and exulted in their success. Although I did not understand their language, their signs, gestures, and countenances, were so significant that I easily comprehended them. About this time, while I was crossing a creek upon a log, which lay over it at the height of five or six feet from its surface, the greasy mockasins which I wore were so slip-

pery, that I tumbled off, over head and ears into the stream. But it was not deeper than my waist, and I had no difficulty in gaining the bank. Such is in general the stern gravity of face and deportment by which the savages are distinguished, that when we turn our attention to this trait in their manners, we are ready to infer, that they are entire strangers to mirth. But this, or any like trivial occurrence, never failed to produce from them loud and repeated bursts of merriment. It is perhaps worthy of notice, that although I had been little accustomed to exposure; had never been subjected to trials and hardships such as I was now compelled to undergo; yet no injurious effect on my health ensued from wading creeks, falling into the water, lying out in the open air, in all kinds of weather, nor from any other inconvenience which I encountered in the course of this long and painful march, the first I had ever made on foot.

Mr. Skyles and I soon found, that we had fallen into very different hands. Perhaps the characters of no two men ever formed a more striking contrast, than did those of his keeper and mine. Messhawa, to whom I had the good fortune to be allotted, had qualities which would have done honour to human nature in a state of the most refined civilization; whilst his keeper possessed such as disgraced even the savage. The one was humane, generous, and noble; the other was ferocious, cruel, and brutal. These distinguishing traits, which clearly showed themselves from the first, continued to mark the conduct of each throughout the whole of our subsequent journey. As regarded my safe keeping, Messhawa exerted a watchfulness and a fidelity to his trust, which never slumbered for a moment. But even in the execu-

tion of this duty, he evinced a regard to my feeling, and a desire to mitigate the severity of my sufferings: whilst the conduct of Skyles's keeper was calculated, in every respect, to wound his sensibility, and to aggravate his pain. At our meals, Messhawa would divide with me to the last morsel; but not so with the other. *His* object seemed to be, to afford his prisoner a sufficiency to sustain life, and nothing more. On one occasion, when we had penetrated far into the interior of the country after a fatiguing day's march, Skyles was eating some boiled racoon out of a kettle which was set before him. He had taken but a few morsels, when his keeper in an angry tone, snatched the kettle from him, and told him, he had ate enough, and should have no more! —It is true, we did not know these to be the words which he uttered, but from his gestures and manner we believed such to be the purport of them. Plentifully furnished with provisions for myself, from the bountiful hand of Messhawa, I felt the strongest inclination to supply the wants of my companion. But this could only be done by stealth; because I feared that discovery would draw down upon me the vengeance of his brutal keeper, and place it out of my power to minister to the sufferings of my less fortunate fellow-prisoner. The persons of these two Indians were as different as the qualities of their hearts. Messhawa was tall, straight, muscular, and remarkably well formed, of a very dark complexion, with a countenance free from the harshness and ferocity usually exhibited by the savage face, and expressive of mildness and humanity. He was distinguished as a swift runner. The other, whose name I have forgotten, was old, below the middle stature, lame, with a countenance on which the temper he continually displayed was very strongly marked.

My friend Skyles had procured a copy of the New Testament, which he frequently indulged himself in reading when we halted. One morning, when he was sitting at the fire with the book in his hand, endeavouring to extract that consolation from its pages which was inaccessible from any other source, the brutal old man, to whose custody he had been consigned, snatched it from him ; harshly reproved him for reading it ; and threw it into the flames.

The hour now arrived, when the man, who had been my companion in all the afflicting scenes of adversity through which I had passed since my capture ; who was the sole individual with whom I could hold conversation ; and the object of my warm and incessant sympathy, was separated from me. We had observed, that eyes of never-wearied vigilance were fastened upon us by our captors, and that their suspicions were always alive to every circumstance in our conduct. We therefore adopted the resolution, to deny ourselves the indulgence of a frequent interchange of thoughts and words, and to say little to each other, lest the Indians, apprehensive that a plan of escape might be the subject of our talk, should put an end to all communication between us. We strictly conformed to this resolution for some time, until a delightful state of the atmosphere on an April day so elevated our spirits, that we conversed much more freely than a discreet conformity to our own views of the subject would have prescribed. We were immediately punished for our imprudence. A party, consisting of eight or ten Indians, turned, with their prisoner Skyles, to the villages on the Miami of the lake. The others proceeded with me and the two white children towards the towns on the river Sandusky. My

heart sunk within me when he was torn from my side. But the bitterness of the misfortune was greatest on his part ; and I had yet some slender comforts left, while he had none. His wound, irritated by the pack which he carried, demanded care and attention. I had been in the daily habit of washing it ; not a creature besides had touched it for a long time. He was now entirely in the hands of his unfeeling lame keeper, who cherished a savage delight in aggravating his sufferings ; and there was not one among those around him who spoke his language. I was not wounded. Messhawa was of a kind, and even benevolent temper. Two of the Indians remaining with me were capable of expressing themselves in broken English ; the little white boy and girl too were yet of my party.—Imagination may, perhaps, supply what the pen cannot describe, in relation to such a subject as the parting between Mr. Skyles and me. To say, that we cordially shook each other by the hand ; that we embraced ; that tears flowed in profusion from our eyes ; would inadequately impart our emotions. Despair was the prevailing agent in the bosoms of both ; and we quitted each other without a ray of hope to illumine our prospects.

Soon after our separation, the people to whom I belonged halted, about midday, for refreshment. An Indian, well advanced in years, retired fifteen or twenty steps from the fire, and, lying down with his face to the ground, fell asleep. A young man, who had kept his eyes on him, waited until he was perfectly in slumber. He then advanced, cautiously and without the slightest noise, to the spot where the other was quietly reposing ; raised and dropped his tomahawk several times over his body ; and at last struck its blade into his back with all the

strength he could exert. The wounded man sprung on his feet, and ran off as fast as his legs could carry him. But he was not pursued; nor did he afterwards rejoin us. I was never able to obtain a clue to this assassinating attempt. Incidents of this nature, though followed by no interesting consequence, yet go far to show the character of the singular and savage people who had me in their possession.

A number of days subsequent to this were spent without any remarkable occurrence. The party sometimes travelled, often halted for the purpose of eating, sleeping, and playing their favourite game, "Nosey," which they sometimes exchanged for a game like that called, among us, Five Corns. They also occasionally amused themselves by dancing, invariably accompanied with a song composed of the words, "Kou-nu-kah,—He-ka-kah,—We-sattoo,—Hos-ses-kah"—repeated with a tone which did not strike the ear with a very musical effect. When they became fatigued with this exercise, they sometimes compelled Mr. Skyles, before he was separated from me, and myself, to imitate them in both the dance and the song, the words of which were repeated by me often enough to impress them so perfectly on my memory, that they are not yet forgotten. In one instance we were required, when the blaze of the fire was very high, to leap through it, and only escaped injury by performing the act as quickly as possible.

They carried two or three tobacco pipes, with which every man smoked when he chose, and they practised that amusement to great excess. A circle was frequently formed, and the pipe passed round from one to another, until all were satisfied. They are addicted, as I have before remarked, to taciturnity; and on these occasions, while enjoying

the fumes of their tobacco, a word was rarely spoken by an individual among them. Sometimes a short, dry observation would escape one of those within the circle, to which the others would express their assent by a sort of grunt. They are much in the habit of conveying their ideas by a gesture or sign, always made with striking significancy.

We had now penetrated a great distance into the interior of a wild and uninhabited country; and I was compelled to abandon every thing like an effort or a hope to escape from my captors. Even though I had succeeded in eluding their incessant vigilance, so far as to get out of their power, I should have been unable to procure sustenance of any kind, or to explore my way through woods and deserts, for I knew not how many miles; and must have perished with hunger, or fallen into the hands of other Indians, parties of whom were wandering about in every direction. I was therefore reconciled to a continuance with them until we should arrive at their towns, where I flattered myself I might be purchased or ransomed by some benevolent trader.

During the whole march, we subsisted on bear's meat, venison, turkeys, and racoons, with which we were abundantly supplied, as the ground over which we passed afforded every species of game in profusion, diminishing, however, as we approached their villages. But we were destitute of bread and salt, necessities of life to a white man, while they are considered mere superfluities by the Indian warrior or hunter, when he is occupied in war or the chase. A mode of living perfectly new to me; the fatigues of the journey; my exposure to all the inclemencies of the season and climate; and the uneasiness of mind under which I constantly laboured,

wasted my strength and depressed my spirits. I had been nearly four weeks on this distressful journey. The vast wilderness through which I had passed, and that which still stretched before me, produced in my mind the frequent recollection of those beautiful lines from Goldsmith's *Hermit*, which were precisely adapted to my present condition :

For here forlorn and lost I tread,
With fainting steps, and slow,
Where wilds, immeasurably spread,
Seem length'ning as I go.

But in addition to all these miseries, there was another source of painful apprehension, to which I could not advert with unconcern. I had heard enough of the Indian habits and manners to understand, that it is their usage, on reaching their towns with a prisoner, to subject him to the degrading and severe infliction of blows, while he runs the gauntlet. All the women and boys are provided with staves, clubs, and such other weapons as they may choose. They are then arranged in two ranks, at a short distance from each other, and the captive is compelled to make his progress between these ranks at whatever pace he pleases, while every possible exertion is made to annoy and to beat him down. Should he be fortunate enough, when thus exposed, to avoid extreme injury, yet he is not exempted from the most awful calamity which barbarism has invented for those who fall into its power. If the vindictive temper of the savages is unappeased; if they are not under the influence of those motives, or whims, or peculiar customs, which determine them on saving life; the miserable prisoner is fastened to a stake, a fire is kindled around him, his sufferings are aggravated and protracted by all

the ingenuity of torture, until nature can bear it no longer, and he dies in agony inconceivable.

The gloom, which reflection on such subjects had spread over my mind, was in some degree dispelled by an incident, which, under ordinary circumstances would have been disregarded. We found a negro in the woods, under cover of a tent, which contained a quantity of whiskey and peltry belonging to his master, an Indian of the Wyandot tribe, then at peace with the United States. This negro was a runaway from the state of Kentucky, and had fled across the Ohio to the country of the savages; among whom it was a law, as I was informed, that the first who should lay hands on such runaway had a right to hold him as his property. The negro had been thus acquired by the Wyandot, who was, when we fell in with the negro, engaged in hunting, and had, on a trading expedition, recently visited the Muskingum, where he had obtained the whiskey now in the possession and care of his negro man.

I now felt myself quite at home; and the poor negro, whom under other circumstances, I should have kept at a distance, became my companion and friend. He treated me with great kindness and hospitality, offering me such refreshments as he had, the most acceptable of which were bread and salt. I had not tasted either since we left the Ohio river. My captors, as soon as they ascertained that the negro had whiskey for sale, began to barter for it a part of the booty which they had acquired on the Ohio. A pair of new boots, which they had taken from my saddlebags, and for which I had paid eight dollars at Petersburg, was given for a pint of whiskey; and other articles were exchanged at a similar rate. The scenes which had passed on

the Ohio were now to be acted over again. A disgusting revelry commenced, which lasted for three days. As usual, a sufficient number remained sober to guard the prisoners, consisting, at this time, only of the two children and myself.

On the first night, about the time when we were composing ourselves for rest, we were removed to some distance from the spot occupied by those who were in a state of intoxication, that we might not, while asleep, be disturbed by them. The two children had never been tied; but I was confined by cords, and Indians laid themselves on each side of me as before. In this situation I slept, until about midnight, when I was awaked by the falling of rain. Soon after, the negro, who had observed the direction in which we had gone when removed from the place where the drunken Indians were, arrived at our camp, and kindly proposed to me, that I should go with him to his tent, and sleep under it, protected from the rain. I pointed out the impossibility of accepting his invitation, without the consent of my guard, lying on each side of me, upon the rope with which I was confined. These men, hearing a conversation between the negro and myself which they did not understand, conceived a suspicion that he was concerting with me measures for my escape. They immediately sprung up, and seizing the negro, set up a tremendous yell, which was answered by the drunken party, and presently most of them came running towards us with their tomahawks in their hands. The negro, who could speak their language, was taken off a short distance and interrogated as to the object of his visit to me; after which I was separately questioned on the same point by one of those who spoke English. As there was an entire correspondence in our answers,

the Indians did not doubt their truth ; and I was permitted to accept the invitation of my new friend. I soon reached his tent, accompanied by nearly all the Indians, who appeared to have been much sobered by the incident which had just occurred. I then laid myself down within the tent, near its entrance, in front of which there was a fire. Sheltered from the rain, and no longer encumbered by ropes, I soon fell into a profound sleep, which I should probably have enjoyed till the morning, had not my slumbers been interrupted by a sensation like that called the night-mare ; but which was, in fact, produced by the weight of a large Indian sitting composedly on my breast, before the fire, and smoking his pipe. I turned over and dropped him on the ground, where he continued to sit, indulging ; as if nothing had occurred, in his favourite amusement of smoking, until I again sunk into sleep.

CHAPTER VII.

IN the morning, a frightful scene presented itself : they were preparing for the war-dance. A pole had been cut from the woods ; after taking the bark from it, it was painted black, with streaks of red, winding like snakes around it : the lower end was sharpened, and at the top the scalps of my late companions, with others which they had obtained during their excursion, were suspended. Each Indian had dressed himself for the occasion. Some had painted their faces black, with red round the eyes ; others, reversing it, had painted their faces

red, with black round the eyes: all with feathers stuck in their heads, and all with the aspect of so many demons. When they had finished adorning themselves in this manner, the pole was stuck fast into the ground. They formed themselves into a circle around it: and then the dance began. It commenced with the fell war-whoop, which had not ceased to ring in my ears since the fatal morning of our capture. They danced around the pole, writhing their bodies and distorting their faces in a most hideous manner. It is their practice, on such occasions, to repeat the injuries which have been inflicted on them by their enemies the whites; their lands taken from them—their villages burnt—their cornfields laid waste—their fathers and brothers killed—their women and children carried into captivity. In this instance, by these repetitions of their wrongs and sufferings, they had wrought themselves up to a pitch of the greatest fury.

The dance lasted for about half an hour. The scene being new to me, I had seated myself on a log to witness it. When it ended, Chickatommo, with eyes flashing fire, advanced towards me, and when in reach struck me a violent blow on the head. I immediately quitted my seat, seized him over the arms, and demanded why he struck me? He replied, by saying, "Sit down!—sit down!" I accordingly loosened my grasp, and resumed my seat on the log. At that moment, perceiving the two prisoner children near, who, like myself, had been attentive spectators of the dance, he snatched up a tomahawk that was at hand, and advanced towards them with a quick step and determined look. Alarmed at his menacing approach they fled:—he pursued. My humane friend Messhawa, seeing the imminent danger to which they were exposed,

bounded like a deer to their relief. The boy being older and stronger than his sister, she was the first to be overtaken by Chickatommo, and would have been the first to fall a victim to his rage ; but at the moment when the fatal instrument was raised to strike her dead, Messhawa had reached the spot. Coming up behind Chickatommo, he seized him around the arms, and with violence slung him back. He then darted towards the affrighted child, whom he reached in an instant, snatched her up in his arms, and pursued the boy. Misconstruing the good intentions of Messhawa, he redoubled his exertions to escape, and they had run a considerable distance before he was overtaken. When his deliverer came up with him, he thought all was over, and gaye a bitter shriek, which was answered by one still more bitter from his sister, then in the arms of Messhawa and who had not yet understood his object. They were both, however, soon undeceived. Although he spoke to them in an unknown tongue, his language, from the manner of it, could not be misunderstood. They found that they had been mistaken, and that they had been pursued by a friend instead of an enemy. When this was ascertained, their little palpitating hearts were soon calmed into repose, and presently they arrived at our camp, walking by the side of Messhawa, who held each by the hand, and soothed them as they advanced with his caresses. The wood being an open one, I had viewed the scene with intense gaze ; and nothing could exceed the delight I felt at finding my poor little companions thus relieved from the dangers of so perilous a situation.

On the next day two Mingo Indians arrived, and immediately participated in the drunken debauchery of our camp. One of these men had killed in the

course of the preceding summer, an Indian of the Wyandot tribe, who was a husband, and the father of several children. Among all the savage nations of America, the usage prevails, of adopting prisoners taken in war for the purpose of supplying any loss incurred by those, who have had their friends slain in battle, or otherwise. If one takes the life of another belonging to his own or a different tribe, he is bound to make reparation to the family of the dead man, either by the payment of a certain value in property, or by furnishing a substitute for the deceased, who occupies precisely the station, and fills all the relations of such deceased in the community to which he belonged; becomes the husband of his widow, should he have left one, the father of his children, and is required to perform all the duties appertaining to these connexions. If reparation is not made for the death of a man by one of the modes which have been mentioned, within a period limited by their usages, the murderer becomes liable to be killed with impunity by the relatives of him who has fallen, or by any other of his tribe. In this instance, the Mingo stated to my captors his wretched situation. He declared himself so poor, that he was not able to render the requisite value for the Wyandot whom he had slain; and therefore that his own life must be forfeited, unless the alternative condition was fulfilled by him. While their hearts were warmed more by the operation of the spirituous liquor they had drank, than by any genuine emotions of liberality, they did not hesitate to yield to his solicitations; and I was delivered over to this new master, to be substituted for the Wyandot whom he had murdered.

When I had ascertained, that those with whom I had travelled from the Ohio River, were preparing

to resume their journey, and to leave me in the hands of my new possessor, I was utterly astonished, and incapable of conceiving the cause of so unexpected a determination. For the purpose of relieving my mind from the anxiety and alarm necessarily produced by my transfer to the Mingo, I requested the negro to explain its object. He was equally ignorant with myself of the negotiation between my present and former proprietors, and applied to both parties for explanation. The intelligence, unreservedly communicated to him by each, was perfectly concurrent, and the perturbation of my feelings was in a great degree diminished, when I learnt, that I was destined shortly to become a husband and a father. The prospect, indeed, was not very rapturous, of leading to the altar of Hymen an Indian squaw, already the mother of several children. But there was something extremely consoling in the hope, I might say in the persuasion, that such an event would bring within my reach those chances of escape from the savages, and for restoration to my country and friends, which I had thus far vainly exerted myself to obtain.

The Indians, whose captive I had heretofore been, took up their packs immediately after surrendering me to the Mingo, and continued their march. But before they set out, every individual made it a point to take leave of me, and to shake me by the hand. Several of them, by their countenances and manner, evinced feelings of kindness, and even of regret, at parting. My excellent friend Messhawa, who had certainly formed an attachment to me, seemed to partake more of this feeling than any of them.

After they left us, I had leisure to reflect on my new condition, and believed I had reason to con-

gratulate myself on a change so auspicious. The matrimonial connexion, which had been designed for me, without my consent, occupied my mind, and I entertained an earnest curiosity with respect to the female, the place of whose husband I was to supply, and with whom I was to be allied by the ties of marriage. Whether she was old or young, ugly or handsome, deformed or beautiful, were questions not without their interest to me. I therefore inquired on those subjects from the Mingo; by the aid of my interpreter, the negro. But he had never seen her, and could give me no information, except that she was the mother of three or four children. But whatever might be her personal appearance, or the qualities of her heart; whether she was destitute of charms, or distinguished for them; the plan to be pursued by me was clear, and my resolution was not to deviate from it. I was not to be consulted in relation to the marriage intended for me by those who claimed the disposal of my person: whether it was to be productive of happiness or misery to me, was no concern of theirs. The only benefit which could result on my side would be, that I should be free, and no longer continue the object of suspicion and vigilance; and might seize on the first favourable opportunity which presented itself, of returning to the comforts, the security, and the enjoyments of civilized life. For the more certain attainment of my purpose, it was my intention, after assuming the charge of the family which I was about to enter by compulsion, thoroughly to devote myself to it, to reconcile myself as far as was in my power to the necessity by which I was overwhelmed; but by no means to delay my escape, when the moment should arrive at which there was a possibility of its being accomplished. It may well

be conceived, that with such hopes and views, I became impatient for our arrival at the place of residence of my intended bride.

These reveries, which I continued hourly to indulge, were not of long duration. After the lapse of two or three days, the Mingo, who now considered me as his property, began to move on with me towards the town at which I was to be delivered, and where the bridal ceremony was to be performed at the proper period subsequent to my arrival. Before he fell in with the party from the Ohio, we had struck the war-path leading from the country on that river, to the Indian towns on the Sandusky and Miami. Upon this war-path my late proprietors had proceeded, when they took leave of the Mingo and myself; and as he conducted me along the same route in their rear, it would happen, that if they delayed a few days, we should overtake them. The fact was, that my former possessors, after the generous feeling excited by the whiskey, which they were quaffing when the Mingo joined them, had subsided, began to repent of their liberality, and determined to reclaim me. They accordingly halted until we came up with them. We were received with smiles, and every indication of civility. They all shook us by the hand, and there was nothing which induced the slightest apprehension of ill humour. But this temper did not long display itself. A bitter altercation commenced, which soon proceeded to a high quarrel; in the course of which I was not exempt from uneasiness when I observed, by their frequent pointing to me, that I was the subject of controversy. The danger was, that one party might despatch me with the tomahawk or rifle, rather than yield me to the claim of the other. The dispute was terminated by the

act of Messhawa, who caught two of the horses that were browsing in the immediate neighbourhood and in view of our position, mounted one of them, required me to get on the other, and conducted me, with his rifle on his shoulder, to the Indian town at upper Sandusky. This was done by instruction from Chickatommo.

We reached that place after riding about five miles.* Those of our party, who had been left in the rear by Messhawa and myself, did not long delay to follow us; and, when they arrived at the town, encamped about the centre of it. Mr. Francis Duchouquet, a Canadian trader, who had resided for some years among the Indians at this place, had met us at the point where the party had waited for the Mingo and me, and had then, on my earnest solicitation, assured me, that overtures for my redemption should be made on our arrival at Upper Sandusky. He visited us in a short time after we had encamped in that village. At the first moment when I saw this gentleman, I was animated with the hope, that I might prevail on him to treat with the Indians for my ransom, and that he might succeed in rescuing me from the pains and horrors of a captivity which I had then suffered for many weeks. I instantly renewed my application to him on this subject, and he did not hesitate to exert his good offices in my favour. But his propositions

* There were no streets in this town, but the Indian habitations were irregularly disposed, without regard to order or distance from each other. They were all constructed of bark, supported by corner posts and cross timbers, to which the bark was secured by strings made of its inner fibres. There was no chimney, but the fire was made about the centre of the hovel, and a hole was left in the roof over it for the escape of the smoke. It requires no great labour to erect one of these frail dwellings; since the bark, which is the principal material, is obtained from large trees, when their sap begins to flow, in wide and long flakes. The corner posts and cross timbers are barely of sufficient size and strength to sustain the outer covering.

were decisively rejected ; and the Indians expressed a determination not to let me go from their hands. The failure of this negotiation, when disclosed to me, produced an agonizing effect, which perhaps may be conceived, but cannot be expressed. All the terrors of a cruel death, inflicted by merciless savages, ingenious in the invention and practice of torture, recurred to my imagination, and filled me with despair.

CHAPTER VIII.

I HAD forgotten my copy of the Debates of the Virginia Convention, at the place from which I had been hurried by order of Chickatommö, on the day that we reached Upper Sandusky. Next morning, the Mingo Indian, to whom I had been for a short time transferred, and from whom I had been reclaimed by my captors, appeared at our encampment. Recollection of the contest which he had lately maintained, for possession of my person, induced a suspicion, that his views were not propitious to my safety ; and I was disposed to avoid him. My fears, however, were entirely dispelled, when, on his approach towards me, he drew from his bosom the book in which I had kept my journal, and presented it to me with a smiling face.

Soon afterwards, the party who held me a prisoner, was gladdened by the arrival of several Wyandots from Muskingum, with a quantity of whiskey in kegs, each of which contained about ten gallons, brought on horses, and lashed across their backs with hickory wythes. Immediately they began to

barter with their guests for the article, which of all others, is most valuable in their eyes. The Wyandots turned their whiskey to good account. Five gallons were enough for the purchase of a horse worth two hundred dollars; a finely formed, handsome animal, now reduced in his plight by the journey from the Ohio river. Others of inferior value, were exchanged at a price proportioned to the first; and drunkenness soon spread itself over our encampment. But their customary precaution was not neglected; and a small number refusing to drink, remained sober, for the purpose of guarding me.

I had observed the liberality of their disposition while under the influence of drink, when they gratuitously yielded me to the Mingo; and therefore, pressed Mr. Duchouquet to renew his efforts for my ransom, at a moment which seemed favourable to my hopes. Again his propositions were rejected. I then begged him to ascertain, by inquiry from the Indians, to what point it was their intention to convey me; and what was the fate to which I was destined. To the first question they answered, by telling him that they intended to take me to their towns on the Miami river: to the second their reply was, that they did not know what final destination they should make of me. I had before this distinctly understood, that captives conveyed to the Miami towns, were certain of meeting the most dreadful fate; and that it is the invariable practice of the savages, to conceal their purposes from the prisoners whom they mean to sacrifice. When Mr. Duchouquet, therefore, reported to me the result of the inquiries which he had made at my request, my alarm and despondency were greater, if possible, than I had yet experienced; and every thing like hope was banished from my bosom.

The spirit of drunken debauchery prevailed, un-

til the funds for purchasing whiskey, and the article itself, were about the same time exhausted. Four or five days of unbounded riot and intoxication had been passed, when the Indians to whom I belonged, finding themselves suddenly reduced from affluence to their usual poverty: ashamed of their wasteful expenditures, after having boasted of their exploits and their acquisitions on the Ohio; unwilling to return to their homes and their countrymen with nothing in their hands, of the wealth which they had recently possessed; adopted a resolution to go back to the river on which they had succeeded so well, and to make farther captures of white men and their property. They communicated their intention to Mr. Duchouquet, and informed him, that as the scalp of their captive might be transported with greater facility and safety than his person, they had determined to put me to death: but if he was in a temper to treat for my ransom, this was his time. A negotiation was then commenced, and concluded happily for me, without my knowledge or intervention. It was agreed, that he should pay one hundred dollars worth of goods as the price of my liberation; and that I should be forthwith surrendered to him. The price was paid down in six hundred silver broaches; which answers all the purposes of a circulating medium with them.

This event, to me the most important of my life, by a singular coincidence occurred on the 28th of April, in the year 1790; the day on which I attained the age of twenty-one years. It might be truly and literally denominated my second birth; since, within the preceding twenty-four hours, I might have been considered as dead to any prospect which my condition presented, except the most miserable, and sunk to the lowest depth of despair. The extravagance of my joy was such, that I know

not any terms in our language adequate to its expression. Subsequent circumstances, presently to be noticed, threw me again into uneasiness and alarm.

After the Indians had disposed of me, they separated themselves into two parties. A small number of the Shawanese, the Mingo, the women, and the two captive children, set out for the Miami towns. Chickatommo, with the other Shawanese, commenced their route back to the Ohio river. Their departure seemed to ensure my safety, and therefore my mind was perfectly quieted. But there was a white man among the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, who had been carried into captivity by those Indians when very young, and had been reared and naturalized with their tribe. He spoke the English language sufficiently to enable me to understand him; and we entered into conversation; in the course of which he intimated, that my emancipation was not yet reduced to certainty; and that he suspected it was the intention of Chickatommo and his party, to regain possession of my person. This suggestion, from a man who knew the savages well; their characteristic treachery; and the fact, that they had already once reclaimed me after having consigned me to the Mingo, induced an apprehension, that what I had heard was not to be disregarded. This apprehension was greatly strengthened, when on the succeeding day, the Shawanese chief with his followers, actually presented themselves again at Upper Sandusky.

Once more terror and despondency seized on me. I reflected on the events which had passed; the miseries which I had endured; and the dreadful fate which was inevitable, should I now, for the third time, fall into the hands of my captors. I deliberately and solemnly resolved, to resist their whole

force by the exertion of all my powers, and to perish on the spot before they should ever again become my masters. I provided myself with a tomahawk, and calmly sat down on a log, fixed in my purpose should they approach, but chopping the log with an air of indifference. They made no attempt upon me, and retired to an encampment which they formed on the river near the town, yet out of our view. Mr. Duchouquet concurred with me in the opinion, that all the circumstances of their conduct were such, as ought to excite strong suspicion that they meditated my recapture. They had disappeared on the preceding day, after receiving the price for which I had been sold; had declared a design of returning to the Ohio; had suddenly returned, without any apparent reason or business; had encamped at a place different from that which they had before occupied, more remote from view, and better suited for a plan of surprise from it on us by night. We determined to prepare for the attack, and to remain, with the utmost vigilance, on our guard. Mr. Duchouquet, and a labourer then in his service, continued to watch with me throughout the night. We locked and barred our door. We were in possession of an axe, several guns, and tomahawks. But there was no necessity for their use. The Indians permitted us to remain undisturbed; and on the next day quitted their camp. Their whole party, with their packs on their backs, came out of their course through the town; shook hands with Mr. Duchouquet and myself, declaring an intention to visit the British post at Detroit, and departed. I could not yet banish from my mind all disquiet, and continued under some apprehension that they might lurk in the neighbourhood, for a favourable opportunity to return and bear me off. But after several days of anxiety, we were informed by a party of strolling

Indians from Lower Sandusky, that they had met Chickatommoo and his followers, at a considerable distance from our village, pursuing their journey steadily towards Detroit. My fears and dangers were now at an end : my spirits became buoyant, and I indulged none but the most joyous feelings.

My mind became immediately occupied with the subject of my return to Virginia ; which was embarrassed with some difficulties. I was alone, utterly ignorant of the country, and could reach home by one of two routes only. The first lay through the dreary wilderness which I had recently traversed ; and the travellers who should attempt to pass, were subjected to all the perils from which I had been so lately delivered. The distance to the nearest settlements was great, and I was not possessed of the means of providing myself subsistence on the journey, which I should have been compelled to make to Pittsburg. The other was extremely circuitous, though less liable to danger. I could travel in perfect security under the protection of a trader : but there was no prospect of obtaining that advantage in a very short time, as the season of the year had not arrived, when the traders were in the habit of repairing to Detroit, with the peltry purchased in the course of the winter and spring, at the Indian villages. It was Mr. Duchouquet's intention, to convey his purchases to that place in person, in the course of about five weeks ; and I had no choice but to remain at Upper Sandusky until that time ; then to proceed with him to Detroit, and thence down the lakes into the state of New-York, from which, the road to my native State would be perfectly easy and safe. The interval, between my liberation from captivity and the commencement of my homeward journey, was employed in assisting Mr. Duchouquet to sell his merchandise to the In-

dians, in attending to his books and accounts, and in occasional excursions ; which I generally limited to the immediate vicinity of our village, because there was some hazard in venturing to a distance. On one occasion, however, I exceeded these limits, and walked two or three miles, for the purpose of visiting the spot where Col. Crawford had been tortured and burnt to death some years before, by the Delawares. The sapling to which it was said he had been bound, when he suffered the most awful fate to which man can be subjected, was still alive, and was pointed out to me by my conductor—the white captive who was naturalized among the Wyandots.

A trivial incident exposed me yet again to the resentment and vengeance of one of those savage beings, whom it was hoped I had entirely escaped. The traders, and other white persons, at the Indian towns, were in the habit of wearing shirts made of calico. Mr. Duchouquet had furnished me with one of this description, which I had washed and hung out on a bush to dry. It had not remained there long, when I discovered a cow, belonging to an Indian of our village, in the act of eating it. She had devoured one sleeve, and was committing depredations on other parts of it ; when I contrived to get near her with a tomahawk in my hand, with which I gave her a blow in the forehead that felled her to the ground, apparently lifeless. Her owner, unobserved by me, was in view. He ran up to me with an infuriated, threatening face, and, at the moment when he appeared ready to execute his vengeance upon me for his fancied loss, the cow jumped up and ran away ; thereby relieving me from the unpleasant necessity I should have been under of using the tomahawk in my own defence ; had he made an attack upon me.

About this time a Shawanese Indian arrived at Up-

per Sandusky, and brought the heart-chilling intelligence, that my late fellow-prisoner, William Flinn, had been burnt at the stake, and devoured by the savages, at one of the Miami towns. This monster declared, that he had been present when the miserable man was sacrificed ; had partaken of the horrid banquet ; and that his flesh was sweeter than any bear's meat !—a food of all others in highest repute with the Indians.

The small band of Cherokees, three in number, to whom Peggy Fleming had been allotted, in the distribution made of the prisoners on the Ohio, brought her to Upper Sandusky while I was there. She was no longer that cheerful, lively creature, such as when separated from us. Her spirits were sunk, her gayety had fled : and instead of that vivacity and sprightliness which formerly danced upon her countenance, she now wore the undissembled aspect of melancholy and wretchedness. I endeavoured to ascertain the cause of this extraordinary change, but she answered my inquiries only with her tears ; leaving my mind to its own inferences. Her stay with us was only for a few hours, during which time, I could not extract a word from her, except occasionally the monosyllables *yes* and *no*. Gloom and despondency had taken entire possession of her breast ; and nothing could be more touching than her appearance. Her emaciated frame, and dejected countenance, presented a picture of sorrow and of sadness, which would have melted the stoutest heart ; and such was its effect upon me, that I could not abstain from mingling my tears with hers. With these feelings we parted. When we met again, it was under far different and more auspicious circumstances, as will hereafter be seen.

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY in June, Mr. Duchouquet, in conformity to his annual usage, set out for Detroit. All the traders, then occupied in the peltry business, were in the habit of repairing yearly, about the middle of autumn, with such articles of merchandise as were adapted to the Indian markets, to their towns, dispersed over the wide extended regions of the northwest. They carried with them ammunition, blankets, calico for shirts, coarse cloths for leggings, trinkets, vermilion, tomahawks, scalping-knives, and whatever else their experience informed them was suited to the taste, or to the necessities of their tawny customers. They received in exchange, the furs and skins collected by the Indians during their winter expeditions into the woods. But as these were not brought in until the spring, the traders sold the goods which the Indians wanted for winter use, on a credit until the spring; when they returned home, and paid for their fall purchases, as well as for the few light articles necessary to them through the summer. They were in general, punctual to their engagements; but there were some among them, who, like many of our white people, were apt to forget, or to disregard their promises. The collections of the traders at the Indian towns, were generally completed by the first of June, when all their furs and skins were conveyed to Detroit; whence they were sent down the lakes, and the St. Lawrence, to Montreal and Quebec. The quantities of peltry produced by this traffic, were immense and of very great value. They continue so at present; and the only change worthy of notice, which has since occurred, results from the great

water communication, lately effected by New-York, between the lakes and the Hudson river, which will probably transfer all the trade of which I have spoken, from the markets of Canada to those of New-York. The Canadians will, however, retain that share, which is afforded by the country to the north of the river St. Lawrence, and out of the range of that canal navigation.

Mr. Duchouquet was occupied in this trade. He sold his goods, and collected his peltry at Upper Sandusky. The season had arrived for transporting his purchases to Detroit; and, with a light heart, I began the journey to that post, in his party. The Sandusky river is not navigable from the upper town; and Mr. Duchouquet's peltry was carried on pack-horses to Lower Sandusky; whence there is a good navigation to Detroit. When we reached Lower Sandusky, a great degree of consternation prevailed there, produced by the incidents of the preceding day, and of the morning then recently past. The three Cherokees, who had possession of Peggy Fleming, had conducted her to a place where they encamped, within a quarter of a mile's distance from the town. It was immediately rumoured that they were there, with a white female captive. The traders residing in the town, instantly determined to visit the camp of the Cherokees, and to see her. Among them was a man, whose name was Whitaker, and who, like the one that I had met with at Upper Sandusky, had been carried into captivity from the white settlements, by the Wyandots, in his early life. He was not so entirely the savage as the first; could speak our language better; and, though naturalized by his captors, retained some predilection for the whites. The influence which he had acquired with his tribe, was such, that they had promoted him to the rank of a chief; and his standing

with them was high. His business had led him frequently, before this period, to Pittsburg, where the father of Peggy Fleming then kept a tavern, in which Whitaker had been accustomed to lodge and board. As soon as he appeared with the other traders at the camp of the Cherokees, he was recognised by the daughter of his old landlord, and she addressed him by his name, earnestly supplicating his efforts to emancipate her from the grasp of her savage proprietors. Without hesitation, he acceded to her request. He did not make an application to the Cherokees, but returned to the town; and informed the principal chief, distinguished by the appellation of King Crane, that the white female captive was his sister: a misrepresentation greatly palliated by the benevolent motive which dictated it.

He had no difficulty in obtaining from the King a promise to procure her release. Crane went immediately to the camp of the Cherokees; informed them that their prisoner was the sister of a friend of his, and desired, as a favour, that they would make a present to him of Peggy Fleming, whom he wished to restore to her brother. They rejected his request. He then proposed to purchase her; this they also refused with bitterness, telling him "that he was no better than the white people, and that he was as mean as the *dirt*;" terms of the grossest reproach in their use of them. At this insult, Crane became exasperated. He went back to the town; told Whitaker what had been his reception, and declared his intention to take Peggy Fleming from the Cherokees by force. But fearing such an act might be productive of war between his nation and theirs, he urged Whitaker to raise the necessary sum in value for her redemption. Whit-

aker, with the assistance of the other traders at the town, immediately made up the requisite amount in silver broaches. This was not accomplished, until it was too late to effect their object on that evening. Early next morning, King Crane, attended by eight or ten young warriors, marched out to the camp of the Cherokees, where he found them asleep, while their forlorn captive was securely fastened, in a state of utter nakedness, to a stake, and her body painted black: an indication always decisive, that death is the doom of the prisoner. Crane, with his scalping knife, cut the cords by which she was bound; delivered her the clothes of which she had been divested by the rude hands of the unfeeling Cherokees; and, after she was dressed, awaked them. He told them, in peremptory language, that the captive was his, and that he had brought with him the value of her ransom. Then throwing down the silver broaches on the ground, he bore off the terrified girl to his town, and delivered her to Whitaker; who, after a few days, sent her, disguised by her dress and by paint as a squaw, to Pittsburg, under the care of two trusty Wyandots. I never learnt whether she reached her home or not: but as the Indians are remarkable for their fidelity to their undertakings, I presume she was faithfully conducted to her place of destination.

The Cherokees were so incensed by the loss of their captive, that they entered the Wyandot town of Lower Sandusky, declaring they would be revenged by taking the life of some white person. This was the cause of the alarm, which was spread among the traders at the time of our arrival, and in which our party necessarily participated; as it was indispensable that we should remain there several days, for the purpose of unpacking Mr. Duchou-

quet's peltry from the horses, and placing it on board the batteaux, in which it was to be conveyed to Detroit. The Cherokees painted themselves, as they and other savages are accustomed to do, when they are preparing for war or battle. All their ingenuity is directed to the object of rendering their aspect as horrible as possible, that they may strike their enemies with terror, and indicate by external signs the fury which rages within. They walked about the town in great anger, and we deemed it necessary to keep a watchful eye upon them, and to guard against their approach. All the whites, except Whitaker, who was considered as one of the Wyandots, assembled at night in the same house, provided with weapons of defence, and continued together until the next morning; when, to our high gratification, they disappeared, and I never heard of them afterwards.

CHAPTER X.

AT this place we found Mr. Angus McIntosh, who was extensively engaged in the fur trade. This gentleman was at the head of the connexion to which Mr. Duchouquet belonged, who was his factor or partner at Upper Sandusky, as a Mr. Isaac Williams was here. Williams was a stout, bony, muscular, and fearless man. On one of those days which I spent in waiting until we were ready to embark for Detroit, a Wyandot Indian, in his own language, which I did not understand, uttered some expression offensive to Williams. This produced

great irritation on both sides, and a bitter quarrel ensued. Williams took down, from a shelf of the store in which the incident occurred, two scalping-knives; laid them on the counter; gave the Wyandot choice of them; and challenged him to combat with these weapons. But the character of Williams for strength and courage was so well known to his adversary, that he would not venture on the contest, and soon afterwards retired.

Lower Sandusky was to me distinguished by another circumstance. It was the residence of the Indian widow, whose former husband I had been destined to succeed, if the Mingo had been permitted to retain and dispose of me according to his intentions. I felt an irresistible curiosity to have a view of this female, and it was my determination to find her dwelling, and see her there, if no other opportunity should occur. She was at last pointed out to me as she walked about the village, and I could not help chuckling at my escape from the fate which had been intended for me. She was old, ugly, and disgusting.

After the expiration of four or five days from that on which we reached Lower Sandusky, our preparations were completed; the boats were laden with the peltry of the traders; and the whole trading-party embarked for Detroit. On the afternoon of the second day, having descended the river into Sandusky Bay, we landed on a small island, near the strait by which it enters into Lake Erie.*

* Nothing can more strikingly illustrate the rapid march of population and improvement than the changed condition of things on this Lake and its borders. In little more than twenty years from the period of which I am speaking, the hostile fleets of civilized nations encountered each other on its bosom; and the name of Perry, and the glories of the 10th of September, 1813, will not soon be forgotten by Americans. Lower Sandusky, too, then a rude assemblage of huts, the dwellings of men equally rude, is rendered memorable by the

Here we pitched a tent which belonged to our party. The island was inhabited by a small body of Indians, and we were soon informed, that they were preparing for a festival and dance. If I then understood the motive or occasion which induced this dance, it is not now within my recollection. Several canoes were employed in bringing guests from the main, which is at a short distance, separated from the island by a narrow arm of the bay. We were all invited to the dance by short sticks, painted red, which were delivered to us, and seemed to be intended as tickets of admission. A large circular piece of ground was made smooth, and surrounded by something like a pallisade, within which the entertainment was held. We had expected that it would commence early in the evening; but the delay was so long, that we laid down to sleep in the tent, which stood near the spot of ground prepared for the dance.

About eleven o'clock, we were awaked by the noise of the Indian mirth. One hundred, perhaps, of both sexes, had assembled. Their music was produced by an instrument much resembling the tambourine. Both men and women were dressed in calico shirts. Those of the women were adorned with a profusion of silver broaches, stuck in the sleeves and bosoms; they wore, besides, what is called a match-coat, formed of cloth, confined around the middle of their bodies by a string, with the edges lapping over toward the side, and the length of the garment extending a little below the knees. They wore leggings and mockasins. Their cheeks were painted red, but no other part of their

defeat of a numerous British and Indian force, by a handful of Americans, commanded by the young and gallant Major, now Colonel Croghan.

face. Their long, black hair was parted in front, drawn together behind, and formed into a club. The liberal use of bear's oil gave it a high gloss. Such are the ornaments and dress of an Indian belle, by which she endeavours to attract the notice of admiring beaux. The men had a covering around their waists, to which their leggings were suspended by a string, extending from their top to the cord which held on the covering of the waist; and a blanket, or robe, thrown over the shoulders, and confined by a belt around the body, of various colours, and adorned with beads. The women were arranged together, and led the dance, the men following after them, and all describing a circle. The character of this dance differed essentially from that of the war-dance, which I had witnessed on a former occasion. The one was accompanied by horrid yells and shrieks, and extravagant gestures, expressive of fury and ferocity, with nothing like a mirthful cheerfulness. The other, which I saw in this last instance, was mere festivity and lively mirth. The women were excluded in the first, but had an active share in the last; and both sexes were highly animated by the music of the tambourine. An abundant supper had been provided, consisting altogether of the fresh meat of bears and deer, without bread or salt, and dressed in no other manner than by boiling. It was served up in a number of wooden trenchers, placed on the ground, and the guests seated themselves around it. We were invited to partake, but neither the food nor the cookery were much to our taste; yet we were unwilling to refuse their hospitality, and joined in their repast. We were not gainers by it; for when we were faring, not very sumptuously, on their boiled fresh meat, without bread or salt, they

entered our tent, and stole from our basket, which contained provision enough for our voyage, a very fine ham, on which we had intended to regale ourselves the next day.

In the morning, we recommenced our progress to Detroit. In our open batteaux we could not venture along the direct course, across a bay of Lake Erie, which would have taken us to a hazardous distance from the land. We therefore hugged the shore, and landed whenever we required refreshment. To this we were in a great degree induced by the multitude of turtles' eggs with which the beach abounded, and which we easily procured in plenty. They were deposited in cavities a short distance below the surface, and their position was discovered by penetrating the sand with a stick. The sand is generally firm; but in those places where the turtles have formed their nests, there is only a thin crust above them, which yields to a slight touch of a stick, and, by the facility with which it is penetrated, shows where the eggs lie. We fried them in bear's oil, and found them very delicious food.

Two or three days after leaving the island where we feasted with the Indians, we gained the entrance of Detroit river, and ascended it to the post of Detroit, on its western bank, then occupied by a British garrison. There I was informed that my friend and brother in misfortune, Mr. Jacob Skyles, had spent several days in concealment from a band of Indians, who had pursued him to that place, after he had escaped from his captivity by a most remarkable series of adventures. I had not obtained the slightest intelligence with respect to him since our separation, and was in the highest degree gratified to learn that he was safe, and on his way

into the United States. It would, however, have been an additional pleasure to me, could we have returned into Virginia together, in a state of feeling so different from that which we had experienced when in the power of those captors, from whom we had every thing to fear and nothing to hope. Several years afterwards we met at the Sweet Springs, when he detailed to me the singular history of his flight from the Miami town, where the Indians had made every arrangement for subjecting him to torture and death. These details I shall relate, after stating the particulars of Flinn's sufferings and end, more minutely than heretofore, as they were communicated to me by a trader whom I saw at Detroit, and who was an eye-witness of the scene. The tale is horrible, and must shock every feeling of humanity. But my narrative would be imperfect without it; and although similar acts of barbarism and unrelenting cruelty have been related by others, this will, perhaps, interest the hearts of those who may read it, and will exhibit the savage character in a strong light.

It has been already stated, that the Indians cautiously conceal from a prisoner their intention, when they have determined that he shall be brought to the stake. The miserable Flinn had no intimation of his fate, and was perhaps indulging the fond hope, that he was yet to recover his liberty, and to be restored to civilized society. He had been conducted to one of those Miami towns which were, at that period, fatal to white captives; was not rigorously confined, though closely watched; and was suddenly seized by several Indians, at a place about a quarter of a mile from the village, where every preparation was immediately made for his sacrifice. Incisions were made through the muscular

parts of his arm, between the elbows and shoulders, and, by thongs of buffalo hide passed through them, he was secured to a strong stake. A fire was kindled around him. A group had collected, among whom he discerned a white man. Flinn asked, if he was so destitute of humanity, as to look on and see a fellow-creature suffering in this manner, without an effort for his relief? This man instantly went into the adjacent village, informed the traders there of the plight Flinn was in, and of the necessity for interposition in his favour without loss of time. They made up the customary value of a prisoner in silver broaches, which they delivered to the white man; and he hastened back, not doubting that the ransom which he carried would be accepted: but it was peremptorily rejected. He then returned to the village, and applied again to the traders for their assistance, after reporting to them the failure of the proffered ransom. From their knowledge of the Indian habits and temper, they determined, as a last experiment, to send a keg of rum, in addition to the silver broaches; under a persuasion, that their extravagant love of that spirit would effect more than any other offer. But when the rum was presented by the white man, they split the head of the keg which contained it with their tomahawks, and the liquor flowed unheeded on the ground. Flinn's agent, who had in vain made every exertion in his power to save him, then told him that his case was desperate, and advised him to prepare for death. He exclaimed, "Then all I have to say is, may the Lord have mercy on my soul!"—and never again, while he retained his senses, uttered a word or a groan. All the ingenuity of the savages was exerted in aggravating his torments, by all those means which they know so well how to employ. His firmness remained unshaken; and he acted the same

part which their own warriors perform on such awful trials. Nothing could break his heroic resolution. At length the fire around him began to subside. An old squaw advanced to rekindle it. When she came within his reach, he kicked her so violently, that she fell apparently lifeless. His tormentors were then exasperated to the highest point, and made incisions between the sinews and bones at the back of his ankles, passed thongs through them, and closely fastened his legs to the stake, in order to prevent any repetition of their exertion. The old squaw, who by this time had recovered, was particularly active in wreaking her vengeance for the blow he had inflicted upon her. She lighted pine torches, and applied their blaze to him; while the men bored his flesh with burning splinters of the same inflammable wood. His agonies were protracted until he sunk into a state of insensibility, when they were terminated by the tomahawk.

CHAPTER XI.

MR. SKYLES, after leaving the party to which I belonged, was led by the Indians, in whose possession he was, to one of the towns on the Miami of the Lake, in the neighbourhood where the wretched Flinn was tortured and put to death. Upon his arrival, he was compelled to run the gauntlet. A single fact will convey some idea of the spirit which directs the conduct of the savages on occasions of this sort. One of the lads belonging to the ranks through which Mr. Skyles passed, provided himself with the branch of a tree, from which the smaller

limbs were all cut, except one. This he suffered to remain, near the large end of the weapon, about an inch and an half or two inches long, and sharpened it well at the point, giving it the form of a cock's spur. As the prisoner ran by the young savage, he drove the keen point of this instrument into his back with such force, that it remained firmly fixed in the flesh ; was wrested from the hands of the boy ; and was carried by Mr. Skyles, hanging down his back, to the end of his painful career. The same keeper, to whose custody he was first committed, had charge of his person, and never relaxed his vigilance, until the last night of Mr. Skyles's continuance with the Indians.

In the mean time, he had experienced much kindness from the wife of his surly sentinel, whose temper was altogether unlike that of her husband, and had been acted on in his favour by a variety of little attentions and services, which, from motives of policy, he rendered her every day ; such as kindling her fire, and bringing her wood and water. At length she informed him, that his destiny was decided, and that he was, on the following day, to be tied to a stake and burnt to death. As the Indians are extremely addicted to falsehood, he at first doubted the truth of this appalling intelligence. But on that night it was completely confirmed. When the hour of rest arrived, it was the regular habit of his keeper to lie down in the same cabin with him, attended by four or five other men, whose business it was to assist in watching and guarding him. His mind was so alarmed and agitated by what the squaw had communicated, that he could not compose himself to sleep, but remained awake until a late hour. The old squaw, who had imparted to him the awful tidings of his intended fate, and a young girl, with the guard who were asleep, formed the party in his lodg-

ings. He feigned sleep so well as to deceive the women, who sat up by the fire, and entered into a conversation, of which he was the subject. He had acquired so much of their language, as to enable him to understand many of their expressions. The elder squaw lamented the event which was next day to befall the white prisoner, and spoke in terms of compassion for the sufferings which he was to endure; while the girl exulted in the prospect of his torments, which in her opinion every white man justly deserved. Mr. Skyles, after hearing what passed between the women, waited in impatient vigilance until they were overpowered by sleep, and every one else was quietly at rest. He then carefully rose from the fire, near which he had lain, took up a small bag of parched corn which he had before observed in the cabin, with one of the rifles and ammunition belonging to the men, and, by cautiously creeping to the door, gained the open ground. He made all possible haste to the Miami of the Lake, which flowed not far from the town, and swam across it; but perceiving that he would be impeded by the gun, he determined to abandon the possession of it, and left it on the bank of the river.

Soon after passing the stream, he heard a bell, which he supposed was worn by a horse; and anxious to travel with speed, he directed his course to the spot from whence the sound came. He was not mistaken in his supposition. He took the bell from the horse's neck, converted its leathern collar into a substitute for a bridle, by cutting it up into strings with a knife which he had brought from his lodge, and mounted on his back. The night was extremely dark, and the growth in the woods very thick. His progress on the horse was therefore tardy and unpleasant. After riding a few miles, he determined to quit him, and march forward on foot. His inten-

tion was, to steer a course which would lead him to the settlements of Kentucky. He left the river, but was so unskilful a woodsman, that he pursued a direction quite opposite to that which he wished to follow, and which led him to the north, instead of the south. His plan was, to lie concealed all day, lest he should be seen, pursued, and be again captured by the Indians; and to go forward in the darkness of the night, when he would be little exposed to the danger of discovery. But he was incessantly environed with perplexing difficulties and perils. Frequently while he was endeavouring to explore his way through thick woods and wilds, utterly dark, he came suddenly on the encampments of parties of Indians, whose dogs would give him alarm by flying at him and barking, with a noise which excited great apprehension, that their masters would discover and seize on him. Groping his course, from necessity, in the night, a more experienced woodsman might have blundered far from the right tract. Sometimes he found himself, when day appeared, on, or near, the ground which he had left the evening before. While beset with all these perplexities, his only means of subsistence, the little bag of parched corn, was exhausted; and a new danger, that of perishing by hunger, stared him in the face.

In this extremity, there was no alternative, but to die for want of food in the wilderness; or to march boldly onward in open day, and find something to support life. He did not hesitate in the choice, and adopted the hazardous resolution of entering the first village he could reach, and of applying to any trader, who might reside in it, for relief from starving, and assistance in gaining a point of safety. But he wisely decided, that such an attempt was not to be made, unless under cover of night. Pursuing, therefore, in the day, the course before him, without knowing

whither it would lead, he had approached so near to one of the Miami towns before he discovered it, that he feared, should he then retire, he would be exposed to the view of some of the inhabitants, who in such an event would certainly again make him a prisoner. Concealment until dark was his only resource. He laid himself down behind a log, which screened him from the view of the people in the town, and quietly kept his position as long as there was any daylight. When darkness began, he repaired to some charred fragments of a fire, which had lately burnt out near his log. By reducing a small quantity to dust, and mixing it with water, he made a black colouring, which he spread over his face and hands. His disguise was so complete, that he was quite satisfied he would not be recognised as a white man; and he entered the village. The wigwams of the Indians, as I have before said, are composed of bark; the houses of traders, who reside among them, are built of logs. He knew the distinction, and availed himself of it. Proceeding with great caution, he came to a house of logs, looked through the chinks between them, and ascertained that it was occupied by a family of Indians. It had probably been erected by a trader, who, from some cause or other, had left it. In his farthest progress through the town, he identified the house of a trader, entered it, and asked for rum. He was told by its occupant, that he had no rum; but would procure him some. When Mr. Skyles had waited this man's return for a short time, having observed the course in which he walked off, he went out to meet him. He then disclosed to the trader, who had not yet discovered he was a white man, that rum was not his object; that he was an unfortunate citizen of the United States, who some weeks before had been captured by a band of Indians on the Ohio river; had been conducted by a party of them to one

of the Miami villages, where it was their intention to take his life, if he had not fortunately escaped their clutches ; that he was then famishing with hunger ; and that without some charitable aid he must soon perish, or become again the captive of enemies who would show him no mercy. The trader told him, that his own life would be hazarded by affording him shelter ; that there had been a party of Indians on that day in his village, from the tribe which had held him a prisoner, in search of him ; but that he would do for him what was in his power. He conducted Mr. Skyles into a thicket of hazel bushes near the village, where he left him, until he prepared some refreshment. He then informed him, that if he would embark in a canoe on the Miami of the Lake, flowing along the edge of the town where they were, he might, by paddling industriously, overtake a boat belonging to certain traders, who had gone down the river that day to Detroit, but would probably lie to during the night. Mr. Skyles eagerly embraced this plan of making good his retreat. The trader led him to the water side, where a canoe was lying, into which he stepped without delay, and determined to exert himself in descending the river, that he might fall in with the traders and obtain a passage in their boat to Detroit.

Between dawn and sunrise next morning he approached the entrance of Lake Erie, and discovered the boat not far ahead of him. He soon brought his canoe along side of it, but all on board were asleep. He awakened them. He had before revolved in his mind the question, whether he should make himself known or not ; and his first decision was in the negative. He was induced to this by an apprehension of treachery, and by that timid caution to which a man in his condition is liable. His principal fear was, that these traders, for the purpose of keeping on good

terms with the Indians, might make a merit with them of placing him again in their power. They inquired who he was?—He answered, that he was an adventurer, who had been looking out for land such as he wished to acquire, on the river Aw-Glaize, but had been driven from the country by the fear of danger from the Indians, who had lately practised horrid cruelties on certain white men captured on the river Ohio. They told him, it was true that one man had been burnt at a town on the Miami, and another had evaded the same fate by escaping from them a few nights before; and that they had, at a town which they had left on the preceding day, seen a party in pursuit of the fugitive. After a little hesitation, he ventured to disclose the fact, that he was that fugitive; threw himself on their humanity; and entreated, that they would receive him into their boat and permit him to pass in it with them to Detroit. He was overjoyed, when they promptly acceded to his request, and conveyed him to the British post in safety. His pursuers followed him to that place, where he was under the necessity of remaining in concealment for several days, until their departure; when he went on his journey into the United States. I am happy to add, that he recommenced business, some years afterwards moved to Kentucky, and succeeded in acquiring considerable property. But he has now gone to his long home, and has left an estimable family in comfort and independence.*

* A singular incident, and for that reason only do I think it worthy of relation, has been communicated to me since Mr. Skyles's removal to Kentucky. He travelled by water down the Ohio river. As he passed the mouth of the Sciota, near which he knew we were taken, he recollected that when taken, he had concealed about two hundred dollars in gold, of which he was then possessed, under a log. He did not think he could identify the spot, at that distance of time. But he landed, and searched under every trunk of a tree which he saw lying on the ground near the place where he believed his money was deposited, until he had the good fortune to strike on the right one, and recovered his money.

CHAPTER XII.

I RETURN to the incidents which relate to myself. I staid nine or ten days at Detroit, for a conveyance down Lake Erie. During that time, I enjoyed the warmest kindness and hospitality from Mr. McIntosh and his family. My first reception by his lady and brother displayed on their part a liberality of feeling towards me, which did not abate while I remained, and which will be remembered by me with the deepest gratitude as long as my life shall last. I was badly provided with clothing. Mr. McIntosh supplied me with such as was decent, comfortable, and adapted to the season of the year. I was destitute of cash for my expenses on the long journey homeward, which I was most anxious to commence. A subscription was circulated, I have reason to believe by Mr. McIntosh and his brother James, among the inhabitants of the town of Detroit, which furnished me with a sufficient sum of money for my purposes. The population of the town then consisted of about one thousand persons, according to my present recollection.*

A state of things existed at this period, in the country where I then was, which subjected any

* Mr. Schoolcraft, whose journal was written in 1820, says, at page 51, "Detroit occupies an eligible situation on the West bank of the Strait that connects Lake Erie with Lake St. Clair, at the distance of six miles below the latter, and in North latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$ according to the received observation. The town consists of about two hundred and fifty houses, including public buildings, and has a population of fourteen hundred and fifteen inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison. It enjoys the advantages of a regular plan, spacious streets, and a handsome elevation of about forty feet above the river, of which it commands the finest views."

citizen of the United States, passing through it, to considerable embarrassment. Although nearly seven years had elapsed since the conclusion of the war of independence, which had been ended by the definitive treaty of peace, entered into between the government of Great Britain and the American Congress, in September 1783, one of its important stipulations was yet unexecuted. The correspondence between Mr. Jefferson, when Secretary of State, and Mr. Hammond, the British minister then resident in the United States, contained in General Washington's message to both houses of Congress on the 5th of December 1793, exhibits the ground taken by these agents of their respective governments, on the subject of those infractions of the treaty of 1783 with which each government charged the other. The correspondence itself has been published; and those who desire accurate and extensive information on the topics which it involves, will find ample compensation in the gratification afforded by the display in it of distinguished talents, especially on the part of Mr. Jefferson. The North Western posts, of which Detroit was one, were detained by Great Britain, and her garrisons occupied them, until after the victory obtained by Gen. Wayne over the Indians in that country, and the negotiation of Mr. Jay in 1794.

Many of the Indian tribes had continued hostilities with the United States through the revolutionary war, and for a long period after its conclusion. The detention of the posts, by the British troops, gave them an extensive influence in the surrounding territory; and no man was permitted to pass by those posts, without the consent of the commanding officer, at each of them, regularly declared by a written passport. In my case, the form

usually observed was dispensed with; and Major Patrick Murray, who was the Commandant at Detroit, politely furnished me with a permission to go down the Lakes, which I here transcribe. It was directed to "Officers commanding British garrisons," and expressed in the following words:

"The bearer, Mr. Johnston, of Virginia, had the misfortune last winter to fall into the hands of the Indians on the Ohio; but having been redeemed by some British traders of this post, is now on his way to his home, and is hereby recommended to the protection of all officers commanding British garrisons, through which he may pass.

(Signed) PAT. MURRAY, Major 60th Reg't.

Commanding at Detroit."

(Dated, Detroit, 22d June, 1790.)

My obligation to this officer did not stop here. Several vessels, suited to the navigation of the Lakes, were employed in the transportation of stores, provisions, and other necessities, to the garrisons of the different posts, and were subject to the orders of their commandants. Major Murray invited me to take a passage in one of these vessels. She was a sloop, called the "Felicity," commanded by Capt. Cowan, and bound for Fort Erie, which was situated at the lower extremity of the Lake, where the river Niagara leaves it. I cheerfully accepted this advantageous invitation, and embarked in the sloop as soon as she was ready to sail:

We steered our course down the lake, but were compelled, after going on for one or two days, by adverse winds, to lie to under the lee of an island. Here Capt. Cowan and I amused ourselves in catching the fine fish of the Lake, which were very abundant around us. They afforded us excellent sport, and we succeeded in getting as many

of them as we desired. Our bait consisted of a red rag and the rind of bacon, tied to our hooks with a string. We had nothing to do, but sit in the stern of the jolly-boat; and as it was rowed about by two sailors, our lines were thrown behind us, the bait floated on the surface, the fish rose eagerly at it, and we were incessantly occupied for several hours in drawing them on board.

After a voyage of five or six days, we arrived at Fort Erie, where I continued a very short time, as I found a boat ready to proceed down the Niagara to Fort Schlosser; in which I obtained a passage, by the civility of the British officer commanding at Fort Erie, and reached Fort Schlosser in the evening. It is situated about a mile above the celebrated cataract of Niagara,* on the American side of the river. I was politely received, and entertained for the night, at the post, by its British commandant, who, on the next morning, visited the falls with me. It would be vain presumption on my part, to attempt a minute description of this "most sublime of nature's works;" a distinction which Mr. Jefferson would not have conferred on the Natural Bridge across Cedar creek, in Virginia, if he had seen this stupendous cataract. Some conception may be formed of those emotions of wonder which the view excites, by recollecting, that here all the waters of the great Lakes, Superior, Michigan, Huron, and Erie, one of them fifteen hundred miles in circumference, and none less than five hundred, are collected into a space of three fourths of a mile, and rush over a precipice of rock one hundred and fifty feet high. Such was

* Schoolcraft, in his Journal, page 33, says, "This is an Iroquois word to signify *the thunder of Waters*, and the word as still pronounced by the Senecas is *O-ni-aa-garah*."

the effect produced on me by surveying this magnificent object, that when I attempted to express the astonishment of my feelings to the officer who accompanied me, I could find no language to give it utterance, and remained absolutely dumb : and no wonder it had this effect. The tremendous roar of waters producing such a sound as had never before fallen on my ear, the spray formed into white clouds and rising up to heaven, the rainbow* with its beautiful tints, all form an assemblage of objects so sublime, as at once to defy and mock description.

From the Falls I travelled on foot to fort Niagara, at the point where the river of that name enters Lake Ontario, and where the British commandant was Col. John Rodolphus Harris. I was stopped at the gate of the fortification by a sentinel, who called the officer of the day. He conducted me to the Colonel ; and when I came into his presence, he inquired sternly, " Who are you, Sir ? " I answered by telling him my name, and that I was from Virginia. " From Virginia ! and what brought you here, you sir ? " I then handed him Major Murray's passport. He read it, and threw it back to me rudely. " Go about your business," said he ; " when you wish to leave this place, I will give you a passport." I then retired to a tavern, under a bitter sense of that mortification which was inflicted by the unfeeling rudeness of Col. Harris. But I experienced a gratification next morning, which perfectly relieved me from its unpleasant effects. Having returned from the landing, to which I had walked for the purpose of ascertaining whether any boat would shortly go from it to Oswego, I entered my lodgings, and amused myself with a book, when

* There is always a rainbow at the falls when the sun shines.

an officer knocked at my door. He entered, and announced himself as Captain Lethbridge, of the garrison at Niagara. He informed me that he had heard of my captivity by the Indians, and presumed I had been stripped of every thing and was destitute of money. He then offered me a purse, containing a number of guineas, and desired that I would take from it such a sum as would be sufficient to disburse my expenses to Virginia, and refund it when my convenience would permit. I told him, that by the liberality of the inhabitants of Detroit, I was supplied with money for my journey, and therefore declined his gentlemanly and obliging offer. We entered into conversation, and by the amenity of his manners and language, he evinced a solicitude to counteract the operation of those feelings produced by the gross incivility of his commandant; and begged me to disregard and to forget the conduct of a man, whose temper was naturally churlish, and his manners habitually morose. After this, Capt. Lethbridge frequently visited me at my lodgings; introduced me to other officers; and exerted himself to render my stay at Niagara as pleasant as polite attentions and kindness could make it. I shall ever cherish a high sense and grateful recollection of his deportment. It is due to the gentlemen, who belonged to the different British garrisons which I passed, that I should declare, Col. Harris was the single individual among them of whose conduct towards me I had the slightest reason to complain.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHILE I waited for a conveyance by water to Oswego, Mrs. Forsyth and her son, of Detroit, came to Niagara, on their way to visit their friends in the state of New-York. This lady, her son, and I, engaged an open boat at our joint expense, to convey us along the Lake Ontario to Oswego. Our voyage was protracted, by the necessity to which we were subjected, in such a boat as ours, of clinging to the shore. At night we landed, and slept in a tent with which she was provided, and in the accommodation of which she invited me to partake. I was somewhat surprised to be persecuted, as we were, in that northern climate, by the swarms of moschettoes which infested our tent, and obliged us to keep up fires during the night for protection from their annoyance. The only habitation of man which we saw on the margin of the lake, was a miserable hut, occupied by a fugitive from Massachusetts, who had been engaged in the insurrection not long before headed by Shays, and had retired to the border of Ontario for concealment. We lodged one night under his shelter.

Five or six days after we left Fort Niagara, we came to Fort Oswego, and immediately proceeded up the river which bears the same name, and connects, by one of its branches, the lakes Ontario and Oneida. Between these lakes there is a short portage around a fall, which renders the navigation at that point impracticable. Our boat was there hauled to the shore, placed on rollers, and launched into the water above the fall. But this was done

with so little caution and good management, that we narrowly, and with great difficulty, escaped the danger of dashing over the fall and wrecking our boat. Mrs. Forsyth was so alarmed, that she threw herself into the water, which was waist deep, and waded to the shore.

We continued on the river into Lake Oneida, which is of inconsiderable extent; steered to its eastern end; and, having gained the entrance of Wood Creek, ascended that little stream as far as it was navigable. We crossed another portage of about one mile, and entered the Mohawk river, at or near Fort Stanwix, which, I believe, stood on the site of the town now called Rome. I had left the boat at the mouth of Wood Creek, and walked up its bank to Fort Stanwix. Between these points, I met a party of Oneida Indians, as I travelled alone. Their sudden and unexpected view startled me, and for a moment brought to my mind the horrors, which I hoped I had left behind me, never again to be encountered. They engaged me in talk, and I soon discovered that they were of a friendly tribe. This was then the course of communication between Upper Canada and the state of New-York; was much frequented; and boats were conveyed over the portage, from the head of the navigation of Wood Creek to Fort Stanwix, on a wagon always kept in readiness for that service.

On the first evening after we commenced our descent of the Mohawk, anxious to enjoy the comforts of a bed, which it had not been my good fortune to obtain since we left Niagara, when our little party went on shore to spend the night, I walked to a decent looking farm-house, and inquired if I could obtain lodging in it. I received an abrupt refusal

from the mistress, who said that an out-house, to which she pointed, was open to my admission. But its appearance was comfortless, and I rejoined Mrs. Forsyth and her son in the tent. My exterior and dress probably decided the good woman to withhold her hospitality, and were perhaps sufficiently unimposing to exempt her from reproach.

In our farther progress down the stream, we passed through the rich and beautiful country called the German Flats, consisting of wide-spread, fruitful bottoms, on both sides of the Mohawk. The mention of this fine river brings to my recollection those exquisite lines written by Mr. Thomas Moore on its banks, and I cannot resist the inclination to insert them.

From rise of morn. till set of sun,
I've seen the mighty Mohawk run ;
And as I mark'd the woods of pine
Along his mirror darkly shine,
Like tall and gloomy forms, that pass
Before the wizard's midnight glass ;
And as I viewed the hurried pace
With which he ran his turbid race,
Rushing, alike untired and wild,
Through shades that frown'd and flow'rs that smil'd
Flying by ev'ry green recess,
That woo'd him to its calm caress,
Yet sometimes turning with the wind,
As if to leave one look behind !
Oh ! I have thought, and thinking sigh'd,
How like to thee, thou restless tide !
May be the lot, the life of him,
Who roams along thy water's brim !
Through what alternate shades of wo,
And flow'rs of joy, my path may go ;
How many an humble still retreat
May rise to court my weary feet ;
While still pursuing, still unblest,
I wander on, nor dare to rest ;
But urgent as the doom, that calls
Thy water to its destined falls,
I see the world's bewild'ring force
Hurry my heart's devoted course
From lapse to lapse, till life be done,
And the last current cease to run.

Oh ! may my fall be bright as thine !
May Heav'n's forgiving rainbow* shine
Upon the mist that circles me,
As soft as now it hangs o'er thee !

We arrived at Schenectady about noon of the third or fourth day after leaving Fort Stanwix ; and I travelled on foot that evening to Albany, where I remained a single night only, and embarked on the next day in a sloop, which was commanded by Capt. Tenyke, and sailed for New-York. When I reached that city, the first Congress of the United States, assembled under the authority of the present Federal Constitution, was in session there. It was a very high gratification, after having laboured my way from the river Ohio to Detroit, down the lakes, and across the state of New-York, a distance considerably exceeding one thousand miles, without the view of a human face which I had ever seen before ; to meet the delegation from my native state ; with two of whom, Col. Isaac Coles, and Col. Josiah Parker, I was personally acquainted. Besides the members of Congress, several other Virginians were in the city, with whom, under the influence of that warm feeling of attachment cherished by the sons of the "Ancient Dominion" towards each other, I spent several days of social enjoyment. Among them was Col. William Davies, a gentleman whom I had well known at Petersburg, the place of his residence. He was occupied, at the seat of the general government, in adjusting, as a commissioner on the part of Virginia, the account of his state with the United States. My stock of cash, for which I was indebted to the good people of Detroit, was nearly exhausted. But Col. Davies promptly

* A rainbow always hangs over the falls of the Mohawk, when the sun shines. They are known by the name of the Cahoes ; and at them Mr. Moore's verses were written.

volunteered such supplies, as enabled me to complete my journey to my birth-place.

Such adventures and scenes, as those which had lately occurred to me, were rarely presented to the attention of the people of the northern cities ; and mine excited some interest, and much conversation, in New-York. They came to the ears of Gen. Washington, then President of the United States ; and his private secretary, Mr. Thomas Nelson, of Virginia, visited me at my lodgings, with a message from the President, that he wished to see me. I was conducted by Mr. Nelson to his house, and introduced to him. He congratulated me, with cordiality, on my fortunate release from the Indians, and made many inquiries with respect to the strength of the tribes in the country through which I had travelled while a captive. After answering his questions on that subject, as well as my limited opportunity of acquiring information would permit, he interrogated me as to the force of the British garrisons at the various military posts which I had passed, and the state of their fortifications. On these last points I could render him no reply from which the slightest benefit could be derived : because my character of an American citizen would have made me liable to suspicion, and even peril, while at the British fortifications, had I examined into such subjects ; and therefore I had deemed it indispensable to abstain from them. Besides, military affairs were out of the range of my experience and observation. His inquiries were of such a nature as led me to infer, that the government of the United States contemplated the chastisement of the Indians, for the many depredations they had lately committed on the Ohio ; and to wrest from the possession of the British troops the military posts

which were then occupied by them within our territory, in violation of the treaty of 1783. That I did not err in my first inference, the disastrous expedition of General St. Clair, which soon followed, afforded sufficient proof; and I have little doubt that the last would have been substantiated, but for the amicable arrangement afterwards adjusted by Mr. Jay's treaty.

Nothing detained me longer from home, but the length of the road; and I began my way to Virginia, in the stage coaches plying on the mail route to Richmond. There I borrowed a gig and horse from a friend, and visited a small estate belonging to me in the upper part of Hanover, where I found some valued acquaintances, and my eldest brother, who had made a trip to my plantation for the purpose of looking into the state of my affairs during my absence. The unexpected meeting between us produced an effect on him, which, he has always declared, he never experienced before or since; he shed tears plentifully, but they were tears of joy. Thence I proceeded, on one of my own horses, to the neighbourhood of my mother's dwelling, in the county of Prince Edward, where no certain intelligence had been received with respect to me, and where the most distressful solicitude for my fate had prevailed. I feared that consequences to an aged and affectionate mother, which it was my duty carefully to avoid, might result from pressing into her presence without previous intimation. My arrangements were made in such a manner, that I rode to the house of a friend, Mr. Miller Woodson, in the evening, three miles distant. He kindly communicated to my mother, by letter, the prospect of my speedy arrival at home, and advised her to prepare for it the next day. My

reception was distinguished by those evidences of strong emotion, which the occasion called forth. Tears of joy flowed from every eye. Even the sturdy slaves ran hastily from the field of labour, some of whom caught me in their arms and wept, whilst others fell upon their knees, and returned thanks to Heaven for my deliverance.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE anxiety of the neighbourhood, to hear the details of my capture, and of all my way-faring, brought them in great numbers, day after day, to my mother's house, and subjected me to narrations, which I was compelled so often to repeat, and which begat in me so many unpleasant recollections, that I almost dreaded the return of each succeeding day: my patience was severely tested, and I became quite fatigued with their inquiries, and my own answers.

I have always since regretted that when I left Mr. Duchouquet's abode, at Upper Sandusky, in my eagerness to set out for Detroit, where I should be perfectly secure from the mischiefs which had tormented me, and where I should be on my homeward route, I forgot the volume of the Debates of the Virginia Convention, in which my journal was written. If I had brought it with me, according to my intentions and wishes, my narrative would probably have been more minute, and my record would have supplied many things, for which I now draw, in vain, on my memory.

In the winter of the year 1802, I resided in the city of Richmond, where I then received a letter from Mr. Duchouquet, dated at Pittsburg, by which he informed me, that he was on his way to the city of Washington, in the character of interpreter to a band of Shawanese chiefs, who were going on business with the general Government; and that he feared his duties would not permit him to leave them, and pay me a visit, as he wished. He stated the time of his probable arrival at Washington, and requested me to meet him there. I most cheerfully acceded to this request. When we came together, I was utterly at a loss for adequate expression of that gratitude by which I felt myself bound to him. Our meeting was warmly cordial. Among the Indians composing this party, it gave me great pleasure to recognise Tom Lewis, who threw his blanket over me at the river Ohio, soon after my capture, and when I had been stripped of my upper clothing. He recollected me at the first glance, and shook my hand heartily. I made special inquiry for the excellent Messhawa, and learned that he was alive, and in good health. Tom Lewis was a young warrior when I was made a prisoner. At the time of which I am now speaking, he had acquired so much reputation and confidence with his tribe, that he had been promoted to the rank of a chief. Grateful for the former kindness of this man, I rendered him such attentions as were in my power, and on one occasion, invited him to come with Mr. Duchouquet, to a private dinner, which I had caused to be prepared for them, at the Hotel, in which I lodged. At the close of our repast, he was presented with a glass of syllabub. He tasted it repeatedly; at length he inquired, what is this? Then answering his own

question, he said "it is neither *meat* nor *drink*, it is *something*, yet it is *nothing*!"

Very soon after my return to Virginia, I had made a point of remitting to Mr. McIntosh at Detroit, through his friend Mr. Alexander McComb of New-York, the sum which Mr. Duchouquet had advanced when he relieved me from captivity, and this last named gentleman told me, that he had in many instances besides mine, rescued citizens of the United States from the hands of the Indians, by paying a ransom for them; but that he had not been fortunate enough to obtain repayment from all. I then advised him to apply to Congress for remuneration, in those cases where it had been withheld. I drew a petition to that body, which was presented by Mr. Giles, who advocated his application warmly and successfully; and Mr. Duchouquet drew from the public treasury the amount which he asked, on no other evidence than his own statements, and the fact of his having redeemed me from my captors. Mr. John Cotton Smith, of Connecticut, was then chairman of the committee of claims, and exerted himself in procuring justice to a man who had always practised benevolence towards those of our countrymen, whose misfortunes subjected them to the necessity of asking his aid. No objection was made to the passage of an act in his favour: a course dictated both by justice, and a humane policy, which without question, the community approves.

A correspondence was regularly continued between Mr. Duchouquet and myself, until within the last seven years, when no answers have been received to my letters, and my inference is, that he has either removed to some distant residence out of reach of communications, or is no longer in the land of the living.

CHAPTER XV.

AFTER the preceding narrative was written, I ascertained that my friend Mr. Duchouquet was yet alive, and that he resided at Piqua, on the head waters of the Miami of the Ohio. I lost no time in writing to him, and proposed that he should spend the present winter with me. I was highly gratified by his acceptance of my invitation, and by his arrival at my house early in November last. It is his intention to remain with me, until the month of March next. He is now sixty-six years of age, and has spent upwards of forty of those years among the tribes of Indians, who until lately, occupied the country between the Ohio river, and Lake Erie. His earlier life was devoted to the pursuits of a trader with the Indians, and his success was, for a long time, equal to his expectations. But, it was his misfortune, immediately before the commencement of the last war with Great Britain, in the prosecution of his business, according to the plan which it was his custom to observe, that he gave credit to a considerable number of Indians for goods sold them, to a large amount, and for which they contracted to pay at the customary period. But before that period arrived, the British Government had engaged Tecumthe, and his brother the Prophet, in their interests. The influence of these characters among their red brethren was such, that they had no difficulty in rekindling a spirit of hostility against the Americans, which had never been entirely extinguished. The consequence was, that many of them followed Tecumthe: and participating in his disasters, never returned to their native towns. Mr. Duchouquet sustained such serious losses by this

event, that he relinquished the business of a trader, and has ever since been employed in the service of the United States, as an interpreter to the Indian agency established at Piqua, and now under the superintendence of Mr. John Johnston. My benefactor has ever sustained a fair character for integrity and veracity. He is not an enlightened scholar, but possesses a sound understanding, and is capable of judicious observation. By him, I am enabled to add something to the history of the most remarkable individuals among my captors, and to report so much in relation to them, as may further gratify any curious inquirer.

Chickatommo was killed in a rencounter with a detachment of General Wayne's army, near Fort Defiance, in the year 1795.

Messhawa was one of the followers of Tecumthe and the Prophet. He either fell in battle with the Americans, or went to the country west of the Mississippi; but it is believed he is dead.

Tom Lewis attached himself to the service of our Government, and fought on our side, at the battle of the Thames. He attained the rank of chief among the Shawanese on Stony Creek, where a part of their tribe established themselves at a town bearing his name, and remained for several years. He has not conducted himself correctly, and has lost the confidence of his people, as well as his chieftainship. He has removed with a band of his countrymen, beyond the Mississippi, and is yet alive.

Whitaker fought against the Americans, when General Wayne defeated the Indians at the rapids of the Miami of the Lake, and has been dead many years.

King Crane acted the same part, at the same time. But in the war of 1813, he bore arms on our side, and fought for us at the battle of the Thames. He died eight or ten years ago.

SKETCHES

OF INDIAN CHARACTER AND MANNERS, WITH ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES.

CHAPTER XVI.

I SHALL not elaborate a disquisition on the character, manners, and habits of the American Aborigines, deduced from my own personal observation. The brief and painful period of my continuance among them, and my entire ignorance of their language, precluded the possibility of acquiring much information on those topics which are most interesting. Even when long residence with their communities, by intelligent individuals, has occurred, their taciturnity, uncommunicative spirit, and suspecting tempers, have required attentive and judicious observation, to penetrate their true character: which, however, has been well investigated by men competent to profound and accurate research. Doctor Robertson, in the fourth book of his valuable History of America, has collected almost every thing which, when his work was written, could be ascertained in relation to them. Subsequent travellers and residents among them, have published facts and remarks, establishing the correctness of his general views. It may be questioned, whether any accession to those general views has been obtained, by later writers. They may have exhibited the peculiarities of various tribes: while they have added, perhaps, but little to the faithful portrait of

the American savage, which he has presented. My exertions have not been spared, to gain access to such authentic sources of information, as will put my readers in possession of all which seems to me worth knowing, in relation to a people whose physical, moral, and social features, are the objects of curiosity to the whole civilized world. But I do not claim to myself such success from these exertions, as will enable me to spread before the public a highly finished picture. My likeness will be sketched imperfectly, because, in the first place, it will not be executed by the hand of a master; and, in the next, it is probable that I might have added much to the fidelity and interest of my outline, if *all* the best sources of information had been within my reach. What I shall lay before my readers will be derived from such written authorities as I have been able to consult, and from the communications which were made to me by the traders, resident with those Indians who held me captive.

In all ages, and in all countries, savage man displays the same general traits of character and of manners. These depend, essentially, on the state of society in which he exists. "The human mind, whenever it is placed under the same circumstances, will, in ages the most distant, and in countries the most remote, assume the same general form, and be distinguished by the same," or closely similar "manners." Tacitus, the celebrated Roman historian, wrote his treatise on the manners of the Germans in the ninety-eighth year of the Christian era. The portrait, which he has delineated of that nation, bears so striking a resemblance to the original inhabitants of our continent, that it will apply, with little discrimination, to either. Those two divisions of the globe, to which modern geographers have

applied the terms Australasia, and Polynesia, comprehend vast regions, and innumerable islands, occupied by nations sunk in the depths of barbarism, and remarkable for a general similarity in their principal features, physical and moral. Most of the Africans, too, are savages. All these are distinguishable, only by difference of complexion, by various degrees of ferocity, and by slight shades of character : and all are very much like the Germans of Tacitus. Perhaps there is less of this likeness in the Negro of Africa, than in other barbarians ; resulting from certain peculiarities of his form and habits, and from the deep tint of his skin. Yet in the main, he is far from being unlike the rest.

I shall arrange what I have to say of the Indians,* as they have been called ever since the discovery of America, under distinct heads ; and will add, or occasionally introduce, such anecdotes as will interest my reader, or elucidate my subject : referring, in every instance, to the source from which my information has been derived. I will first notice the birth of their children, and the manner in which they are reared. The substance of what I shall detail on these topics will be extracted from the journal of Major Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, made in the years 1819 and 1820, by the direction of the Department of War. This work is well written : its authority cannot be questioned.

* The countries which Columbus discovered were considered as a part of India. In consequence of this notion, the name of *Indies* is given to them by Ferdinand and Isabella, in a ratification of their former agreement, which was granted to Columbus upon his return. Even after the error, which gave rise to this opinion, was detected, and the true position of the New World was ascertained, the name has remained, and the appellation of *West Indies* is given by all the people of Europe, to the country, and that of *Indians* to its inhabitants. Robertson's History of America, vol. I. Book 2, Section 41.

It furnishes the most recent and minute information on the subjects to which it relates, and is a most interesting production. I shall therefore follow it for one of my principal guides; supplying what it may not contain, from other sources of undoubted character, as well of former, as the latest publication. Major Long's details relate frequently to particular tribes only. But they furnish so much new and interesting matter, and impart such facts and views of Indian character and manners, as to go far in enabling us to form general and correct ideas of the race. The diversities, by which they are distinguished, consist of trivial peculiarities in the manners and habits of different tribes, while the general character of all is little varied. The Omawhaws, as Major Long calls them, are the same people to whom the name of Mahas is attributed by Lewis and Clark. Their residence is in the country bordering on the Missouri, and they seem to be somewhat superior, in many respects, to the Indians eastward of the Mississippi, and in the northern and north-western parts of our continent.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN CHILDREN.

DURING the period of gestation, "the mother is accustomed to no indulgences. She pursues her ordinary occupations, laborious as they frequently are, until her travail commences, when she retires

to some private place, and the fruit of her womb is ushered into the world, without the presence or assistance of a human creature. Should this happen on a roaming excursion, of which the Indians make many, either for the purposes of war, of the chase, or for the change of their dwelling, little time is lost by it. She washes herself, and the infant, in water, or in melted snow; assumes the burden, which she had before carried, and which is never light; secures her child on the top of it, protected by such covering as she possesses, and hastens to overtake her party. No difficulty is apprehended, except on the first birth, when the young wife requests the attendance of a matron, to whom she looks for aid in the event of necessity." But the practices to which they are addicted, on such occasions, are probably not such as obstetric skill would recommend. "A belt is tied around the waist of the patient, and she is shaken, generally in a vertical direction, with considerable violence! To facilitate the birth, a vegetable decoction is sometimes administered, and the rattle of the rattlesnake is sometimes given, it is said, with advantageous effect, after preparation by bruising or pounding. About the quantity of two segments, mixed with warm water, constitutes a dose. If the delivery occurs while she is stationary, the young mother, little enfeebled by that event, almost immediately attends to her domestic work; but does not perform the most laborious services, such as cutting and carrying wood, before the expiration of two or three days. In the second, and subsequent parturitions, there is no difficulty: and the mother, after bathing her infant, ties it to a board, and recommences her daily employment."*

* Major Long's Journal, page 226.

Father Charlevoix, a French ecclesiastic, who travelled through Canada, by order of his government, more than a hundred years ago, published the result of his observations on the Indians, in a series of letters addressed to the duchess of Lesdeguieres. His work, though liable to some exceptions for the credulity which it frequently displays, has been, ever since its appearance, considered a most respectable authority. On the subject to which the foregoing extract from Long's journal relates, Charlevoix says, "The savage women in general, are brought to bed without any pain, and without any assistance; but there are some who are a long time in labour, and suffer much. When this happens, they give notice of it to the young people, who, all on a sudden, and when the patient least expects it, come and make great noises at the door of the cabin; the surprise of which, has such an effect upon her as instantly to procure her delivery."—*Charlevoix, p. 199.*

"The child is of a reddish brown colour at the time of its birth; but it soon becomes whitish; yet never so purely white as the children of white people. The change to the national complexion is then gradual, and independent of exposure: those parts of their bodies, which are perpetually concealed from the light, changing simultaneously with the face.

"The usual number of children may be stated at from four to six in a family: but it sometimes happens that there are ten or twelve.* The mother often suckles two at the same time; the eldest, perhaps, three years of age. At that age, and sometimes a little earlier, the child is weaned by the aid

* It is presumable, that those cases in which the number of children is so great, only occur where the father has several wives. The Indian women are by no means remarkable for fecundity. Their mode of living, and habit of keeping the child long at the breast, in a great degree account for it.

of ridicule, in which the parents and their visitors unite.

“The bellies of the children project considerably.

“The sole article of dress, worn by the young boys in warm weather, is a small belt of cloth around the middle of the belly, leaving every other part of the body perfectly naked. In cold weather they wear leggings, mockasins, and a small robe.”—*Long's Journal—ubi supra.*

The first object of the Indian father and mother, in relation to their children, is to impart vigour of constitution, and a capacity to endure every species of hardship and exposure. The late governor, Meriwether Lewis, some years before his journey to the Pacific ocean, travelled a considerable distance with a party of Indians, consisting of both sexes. One of the squaws carried on her back an infant, tied to a board. The little creature appeared to be six or seven months old. About one o'clock, of a cold stormy day, the party halted for the purposes of rest and refreshment. The mother placed the board in a sloping position against a tree, on the weather side. The wind blew violently, and the snow, of that hard texture which resembles hail, pelted the little sufferer's face incessantly for several hours. It cried and screamed, until so exhausted, that it could only utter sobs and sighs. Governor Lewis watched the conduct and countenance of the mother. She indicated no feelings of uneasiness; pursued her ordinary occupations; and did not for a moment, turn her eyes towards the suffering infant!

I have been informed by another gentleman, that he once saw a squaw, bearing a child on her back, secured according to their usual mode, to a board. She was accompanied by other Indians, male and female. They were passing a small stream, on a

bridge, when the mother threw her child with its board, into the water. The little being floated for a short distance, on the surface, struggling and squalling; but soon began to sink. One of the men then leaped into the creek, and brought the child to its mother, nearly suffocated by the cold water; for it was the winter season. She viewed its convulsive efforts to recover breath, with the utmost composure, replaced it on her back, and, with her party, continued the journey on which they were travelling. But, we are not to infer from such facts as these, that they are destitute of maternal tenderness. Both sexes possess the faculty of subduing their feelings, in a wonderful degree; and incontestible proofs exist, to show, that the Indian mother cherishes as ardent an affection for her offspring, as those parents who belong to civilized life. It is *the policy* of their plan of education which directs such a conduct, as was practised on the occasions above noticed.

“The female children,” says Major Long’s Journal, “are supplied with a short piece of cloth, in imitation of a petticoat, destitute of a seam, belted around the loins, and depending as low as the knees. Their hair when dressed, is parted on the top of the head, and the portion of each side collected behind the ear into a roll five or six inches long, decorated with silver and brass rings, and ribands. The line of separation of the hair is adorned with vermillion. This disposition of the hair into two rolls, is generally observed by the girls, and is often continued one or two years after their residence with a husband.

“The girl is kept in a state of considerable subjection: she habitually conforms to all the commands of her mother, and is obliged to assist her in her ordinary occupation; if she is refractory, she receives a blow on the head or back, from the hand of the

mother, but hardly ever from the father. At the age of four or five years, she is taught the use of the hoppas, and is gradually familiarized to carry burdens. She is trained up to industry, and is taught to cut wood, to cultivate maize, to perform the scalp-dance, and is early informed of the several relations of men and women, and warned against the arts which will be aimed at the subjugation of her virtue.

"The experienced parent, however, in addition to these salutary counsels, keeps a vigilant eye to the deportment of her unmarried daughter, and so sedulously guards her steps, that the arts of seduction, notwithstanding the free use of licentious language, appear to be more rarely triumphant over the Omawhaw maid, than over the civilized fair.

"Hence, a prostitute, who has never been married, is of exceedingly rare occurrence. Yet, notwithstanding the vigilance of the parent, the daughter sometimes elopes with a favoured lover; but not until she has ascertained that his intentions are perfectly honourable.

"The girl displays the most affectionate regard for her parents, and grand-parents.

"Whilst the deportment of the sister is thus trenched and guarded, the brother roams at large, almost uncontrolled. Should his conduct at any time be flagrantly outrageous, he will, perhaps, in the anger of his parents, receive a harsh reproof; but an ill-judged affection soon prompts them to assuage his grief, and dry his tears, by presents and soothing expressions. At a very early age, he is furnished with a bow and arrows; with the use of which he delights to employ himself, that he may be qualified for a hunter and warrior.

"Nothing can exceed the care which mothers take of their children, during the period of infancy; but, no sooner is it past, than they are left entirely

to themselves; not through want of affection, or from indifference, for they never lose the tenderness which they have for them, but with their lives; but because they are persuaded it is best to leave nature to herself, without any restraint.”*

“The act which terminates the first stage of infancy is, giving a name, which, among these people, is an affair of importance. This ceremony is performed in a feast, where no persons are present but of the same sex with the child that is to be named. While they are eating, the child is upon the knees of the father or mother, who continually recommends it to the Spirits, especially to that which is to be its guardian genius: for every person has their own, but not at their birth. They never make new names; but every family has a certain number, which they take by turns. Sometimes also, they change their names as they grow up; and there are some names which they cannot go by, after a certain age; but I do not think this is a custom every where: and as some people, in taking a name, take the place of the person that bore it last: it sometimes happens, that a child is called grandfather, and treated as such, by one who might really be so to the child.”†

“From the age of five years, to that of ten or twelve, custom obliges the boy to ascend to a hill-top, or other elevated position, fasting, that he may cry aloud to the Wah-con-da.‡ At the proper season, his mother reminds him, that ‘the ice is breaking up in the river, the ducks and geese are migrating, and it is time for you to prepare to go in clay.’ He then rubs his person over with a whitish clay.

* Major Long.

† Charlevoix, page 200.

‡ Wah-con-da, in English, Master of Life: a peculiarly significant appellation, by which the Omawhaws, and many other tribes, distinguish the Deity, or Great Spirit, as he is generally denominated by the Indians.

and is sent off to the hill-top, at sunrise, previously instructed by his mother what to say, and how to demean himself, in the presence of the Master of life. From this elevation, he cries out to the great Wah-con-da, humming a melancholy tune, and calling on him to have pity on him and make him a great hunter, horse-stealer, and warrior. This is repeated once or twice a week, during the months of March and April.*

"It is an idea which holds the first place in the bosoms of the savage tribes, that every man is born free and independent; and that no power on earth has a right to diminish or circumscribe his natural liberty. There is scarcely any appearance of subordination in their civil or domestic government. Every one does what he pleases. Their manner of educating their children is adapted to this principle. They never chastise,† or punish them, even during their infancy. As they advance in years, they permit them to be entirely masters of their own conduct; and they are held responsible to nobody."

"It is only when his pride is concerned, that the boy is obedient to the injunctions of his parents: on other occasions, he disregards them, or replies only with ridicule. A boy in anger discharged an arrow at his mother, which penetrated her thigh: when, instead of chastising him for the act, she applauded his spirit, declaring him to be a gallant fellow, the early promise of a great warrior! But, though he does not scruple thus to insult his parents, he would unhesitatingly revenge an indignity offered them by another.

* Major Long.

† I have borrowed this paragraph from Doctor Robertson, who quotes it from Charlevoix. Major Long, in one of the passages which I have taken from his Journal, says, that "the refractory girls (among the Omawhaws,) receive blows upon the head, or back, from the hand of the mother, but hardly ever from the father."

“He soon becomes ambitious of martial distinction, in consequence of frequently hearing the old warriors narrate their feats of arms, and eagerly anticipates the age which will justify his enrolling himself in the ranks of a war party.

“At the age of twelve or thirteen, having received every instruction respecting their mode of warfare, his wishes are gratified, and he is accepted as a volunteer in the path of honour.

“At the age of fourteen or fifteen, it is not uncommon for the young Omawhaw to elope with a married woman, and fly for protection to the Pimcaws.

“The home of the young man, till he marries, is his father’s house; but after he thus changes his condition, he repairs to the house of his father-in-law, until the birth of his first child, when he returns, with his little family, to his father’s dwelling, where he continues to reside. On national hunts, he provides a separate skin lodge for his family.

“When more advanced in age, and of some little consequence or influence among the people, he unites with two or three families in the building of a permanent dirt lodge in the village. The labour of erecting this edifice devolves, almost exclusively, upon the squaws.”*

* Major Long.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THEIR COURTSHIPS AND MARRIAGES.

I HAVE not found so minute information on this subject any where else, as in Major Long's Journal, from which I have made most of my extracts on the birth and education of the Indian children. I cannot do better, than to transcribe from that journal what is said of the courtships and marriages of the Omawhaws.

“Numbers of the females are betrothed from their infancy; and as polygamy is extremely common, the individual, who weds the eldest daughter, espouses all the sisters successively, and receives them into his house when they arrive at a proper age.

“During her early youth, the daughter continues under the control of her parents, with whom she resides, and donations are occasionally made to her by the lover, which are received by the parents, and appropriated to their own use, if the addresses of the individual are favourably received; but should an alliance with him, or with his family, not be desirable, his presents are rejected, and the application is not renewed.

“Between the age of nine and twelve years, the young wife is occasionally an invited visitant at the lodge of her husband, in order that she may become familiarized with his company and bed. But her permanent residence is still at the house of her parents, where she continues until the age of thirteen or fourteen, when the parents give notice to their son-in-law, that their daughter is of sufficient age to partake of his bed. The husband then receives

his bride without any formality, and, leaving his other wives at home, departs with her upon a journey of a few days, during which time the marriage is consummated. On their return, the young wife again dwells in the lodge of her parents, occasionally visited by her husband, until a general hunt calls them from the village.

“During this hunt, the husband again takes possession of his bride, whose parents constantly pitch their lodge near that of the son-in-law.

“The husband, previously to introducing his new wife into his lodge, endeavours to obtain the consent of his other wives; for this purpose, he speaks kindly to them, states the necessity of providing them a helpmate to alleviate their burdens, and thus succeeds in his wishes.

“The new matrimonial alliance is at first productive of no discord in the family: but at length, the decided partiality displayed by the husband in favour of his recent acquisition, engenders much jealousy in the minds of his elder wives. Quarrels often succeed, which are sometimes terminated by the natural weapons of the wives, who, after the liberal use of their voluble tongues, apply for more strenuous aid to the agency of their teeth and nails, or to the somewhat more formidable array of tomahawks, clubs, and missiles.

“During combats of this nature, the husband remains perfectly neutral, sitting with his robe drawn over his head. Should the wives succeed in expelling the recent intruder, who takes refuge in the house of her parents, the husband endeavours to soothe their anger, and to point out to them the impropriety of their conduct.

“A lecture of this nature, to women elated with victory, is not always received in the same conciliatory disposition with that which dictated the advice,

but sometimes results in another quarrel, which is terminated by the administration of a few blows on the persons of the refractory squaws. These will then depart from his lodge, declaring their determination to live with him no longer; a resolution which, however, fails with their anger, and they seek a reconciliation. Their friends apply to the husband in their favour, and are informed that he was angry when he flogged them, and is now sorry for it. Thus matters are, with but little difficulty, adjusted; the wives return home, and are harangued by the husband, after which they proceed harmoniously together in their domestic employments, until some new feud arises to disturb the repose of the family.

“On the general hunting expeditions, in which the nation separates into distinct bands, the husband takes with him his favourite wife, while the others accompany the bands in which are their parents. Sometimes, during a temporary encampment, the husband leaves his favourite for a few days, on pretence of business, in order to visit one of his wives in another band. On his return, he perceives the brow of his favourite to lower with evident displeasure; if his dog approaches her, she knocks him over with a club, and her child is repulsed with violence from her side; she kicks the fire about, pulls about the bed, and exhibits other signs of anger. The husband affects not to notice her inquietude, but suffers her to proceed in her own way, until the violence of her anger appears to be in some measure dissipated; he will then, perhaps, venture to request her to repair his mockasins for the morrow's hunt; ‘take them to your dear wife in the other band,’ will most probably be the reply to his solicitation.

“Such is sometimes the violence of the displeasure of his squaws, that he is obliged, through prudential motives, to take refuge in a neighbouring lodge, where he solaces himself with the pipe, until he supposes there is no longer danger of being provoked beyond endurance, so as to be tempted to chastise her; a discipline which she seems rather to solicit than avoid, that she may have a sufficient excuse for wreaking her vengeance on her rival, and for giving free vent to her sentiments and opinions upon her husband, in language superlatively indecent and opprobrious.

“When he retires to repose he invites her to his bed, but receives a positive refusal; she rolls herself in her covering alone, but generally during the night she becomes pacific, and a negotiation ensues, which restores harmony between them.

“The far greater portion of their matrimonial quarrels arise from jealousy, though many affect to treat their passion with ridicule, or with indifference.

““Were you ever jealous?” said Sans Oreille, an Oto chief, to Mr. Dougherty.* “I was once fool enough to be jealous, but the passion did not long torment me: I recollected that women are often alone, their husbands being frequently necessarily absent a hunting, and even when the husband is at home, the squaw is under the necessity of going to a distance for the purpose of bringing water, or collecting wood, when frequent opportunities occur of being unobserved in the company of other men; and I am not so silly as to believe that a woman would reject a timely offer. Even this squaw of mine, who sits by my side, would, I have

* A very respectable interpreter, who was of Major Long's party.

no doubt, kindly accede to the opportune solicitations of a young, handsome, brave suitor.' His squaw laughed heartily, but did not affect to repel the imputation."

While I remained at Detroit until a passage down Lake Erie could be obtained, Mr. McIntosh related to me the particulars of an unpleasant adventure which had not long since occurred to an English lady. It exhibits the effect of jealousy on the mind of an Indian female in peculiarly striking colours. An English gentleman of distinction, with his lady, made the tour of the Canadas. When they had penetrated as far as Detroit, impelled by an ardent curiosity to see something of the Red people, and their mode of life, they determined to visit some of the Indian towns in that neighbourhood. They accordingly went to one of the villages situated on the Miami River. Upon their arrival, they were invited by a hospitable white trader, to take up their abode at his house. His wife was a squaw, who had never associated with the whites, and was, of course, utterly ignorant of our manners. The trader, disposed to render the visit of his guests as pleasing to them as it was flattering to him, was unremitting in his kind and assiduous attentions to both, but more especially to the lady. At length, on the frequent repetition of those civilities which are offered by all men of ordinary politeness to the softer sex, the jealousy and rage of the squaw was kindled to so high a pitch, that she suddenly sprung upon the lady like a tigress, and had nearly subjected her to the loss of both her eyes, before those who were present could rescue her from the fangs of her assailant.

"Many husbands will take no cognizance, whatever, of the breach of conjugal fidelity on the part of the wife; and the offer of one of their wives for

company during the night, though it might call for a return of thanks, was no cause of surprise to us, during our stay at their villages.”*

The experience of Messieurs Lewis and Clarke, in their progress through the countries which they visited, on the Missouri, and beyond the Rocky Mountains, was concurrent with that of Major Long and his party, in relation to this species of Indian hospitality. A large negro man, whose name was York, attended Captain Clark on the journey to the Pacific ocean. York was an object of higher admiration to the Indians than any individual of the party. The Indian husbands were peculiarly gratified, when they prevailed on him to cohabit with their wives; and were quite flattered by the prospect of obtaining his stock. Female chastity is held in no estimation with any of the tribes on our continent. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who spent many months in the years 1789 and 1793, among the north-western Indians, holds this language in the 67th page of his “General History of the Fur Trade:” “It does not appear, that chastity is considered by them as a virtue; or that fidelity is believed to be essential to the happiness of a wedded life. Though it sometimes happens, that the infidelity of a wife is punished, by a husband, with the loss of her hair, nose, and perhaps life. Such severity proceeds from its being practised *without his permission*: for, a temporary change of wives is not uncommon: and the offer of this is considered as a necessary part of the hospitality due to strangers.”

I was informed by the traders at Sandusky, that nothing produces so much chagrin to the Indian bridegroom, as a discovery, that his bride is a virgin. It affords to him afflicting evidence, that she has

* Long's Journal.

been neglected, and held in little estimation. He is, on the contrary, highly gratified, by ascertaining, that other men have had access to her person; since it is a proof, that she has been sought after, and has been a favourite object!

Don Ulboa says, "In their marriages, they run counter to the sentiments of all nations, esteeming what others detest; a virgin being never the object of their choice; for they look on it as a sure sign, 'that she, who has not been known to others, can have nothing pleasing about her.' After a young man has asked the object of his affections of her father, and obtained his consent, they immediately begin to live together, as man and wife, and assist the father-in-law in cultivating his fields. At the end of three or four months, and often of a year, he leaves his bride, without ceremony, and perhaps for the wild reason above mentioned: and even expostulates with his father-in-law, that he should endeavour to deceive him, by imposing upon him his daughter, whom nobody else had thought worthy of making his bedfellow."

The father does not hesitate, on some occasions, to offer his daughter to the embraces of a man, by whom he wishes her to produce children. While on this subject, I cannot help giving an anecdote of General Jackson related by a gentleman* who belonged to his command during his warfare with the Creeks. After the repeated victories which the General had gained over that people, a chief of the Cherokees formally waited on him, and requested, that he would visit his family, and spend some weeks with them. "I have," said he, "two handsome daughters, entirely at your service, and

* Major Thomas Claiborne, formerly a member of congress from Nashville, Tennessee.

it will be a great pleasure to me, if they shall bring children by you." The General jocularly replied, that he had been unsuccessful in his domestic efforts relative to that subject, and was not the father of a child. "But," said he, "there is no doubt, that the service which you desire will be cheerfully performed by some of my young officers, and I recommend your application to them." "No, no," said the chief, "they will not suit my purpose: I want *your breed, I want warriors!*"

I return to my extracts from Major Long's Journal.

"A husband of a harsh temperament, on detecting his wife in an adulterous act, will rarely endeavour to maim her paramour, or otherwise seriously injure him by killing his horses or dogs; but his attention will be chiefly, or exclusively, directed to his wife, whom he punishes by cutting off her hair, or rarely her ears or nose; sometimes he resorts to a different punishment, and scarifies her face and head with his knife, after which she is repudiated, and becomes a common prostitute.

"An inexorable man, thus circumstanced, has been known to tie his frail partner firmly upon the earth, in the prairie, and in this situation, compel her to submit to the embraces of twenty or thirty men successively; she is then abandoned.

"Mr. Dougherty, being in Ong-pa-ton-ga's* lodge, heard the loud voice of supplication, from an unhappy father, whose daughter had been recently taken in adultery by her husband. 'O great Ong-pa-ton-ga,' said he, 'whose nose is like that of a mule, and who art greater than the Wah-con-da himself, condescend to intercede for my daughter,

* The Big Elk.

with her cruel husband; do not permit her face to be disfigured, her nose to be cut off, or the disgrace of the punishment of the prairie to be inflicted on her.

“A brave* who detected his wife in the commission of adultery, offered her no indignity, but immediately transferred her to the object of her preference, and accompanied the gift with a horse, and sundry articles of merchandise.

“Even a very remote degree of consanguinity is an insuperable barrier to the marriage union. This state, on the part of the man, seems to be the result of love for the woman: on that of the squaws, of conveniences, or acquiescence in the will of her parents. - On some occasions, however, an Indian marries through ambitious motives; he is, for instance, aspiring to the acquisition of a particular dignity; he will then endeavour to quiet the opposition of some powerful individual, by intermarrying into his family.

“Their connubial attachments are often very strong. An Omawhaw and his squaw, on a solitary hunting expedition, were discovered at a distance from their temporary lodge, by a Sioux war party. They endeavoured to escape from the enemy, but the squaw was soon overtaken, struck to the ground, and subjected to the terrible operation of scalping. The husband, although at this time beyond the reach of the balls and arrows of the Sioux, seeing his squaw in their hands, immediately turned upon them, and drawing his knife, the only weapon he had, furiously rushed among them, in order to revenge the death of his squaw, even with the inevitable sacrifice of his own life; but he was almost immediately despatched, without having accomplished his heroic purpose.”

* Brave is a distinguished warrior.

The foregoing extracts from Major Long's Journal relate to the Omawhaws. I will add, from the same work, what is said on the customs of the Konzas, with respect to marriage. They occupy the country on a branch of the Missouri which bears their name.

"The females, before marriage, labour in the fields, and serve their parents; carry wood and water, and attend to the culinary duties. When the eldest daughter marries, she commands the lodge, the mother, and all the sisters; the latter are to be also the wives of the same individual. When a young man wishes to marry a particular female, his father gives a feast to a few persons, generally old men, and acquaints them with his design: they repair to the girl, who generally feigns an unwillingness to marry, and urges such reasons as her poverty, youth, &c.—The old men are often obliged to return six or seven times before they can effect their object. When her consent is obtained, the parents of the young man take two or three blankets, and some meat, to the parents of the female, that they may feast, and immediately return to their lodge. The parents put on the meat to cook, and place the same quantity of meat, and merchandise, on two horses, and dress their daughter in the best garments they can afford; she mounts one of the horses, and leads the other, and is preceded by a crier, announcing with a loud voice, the marriage of the young couple, naming them, to the people. In this way she goes to the habitation of her husband; whose parents take from her every thing she brings, strip her entirely naked, dress her again in clothes as good as she brought, furnish her with two other horses, with meat, and merchandise, and she returns, with her crier, to her parents. These two horses she retains as her own, together with all

the articles she brings back with her. Her parents then make a feast, to which they invite the husband, his parents, and friends; the young couple are seated together, and all then partake of the good cheer; after which, the father of the girl makes a harangue, in which he informs the young man, that he must now assume the command of the lodge, and of every thing belonging to him and his daughter. All the merchandise that the bride returned with, is distributed in presents, from herself to the kindred of the husband, in their first visit. The husband then invites the relatives of the wife to a feast. Whatever peltries the father possesses are at the disposal of the son, to trade with on his own account, and, in every respect, the parents frequently become subservient to the young man.

“After the expiration of a year from the death of the husband, his eldest brother takes his widow to wife, without any ceremony, considering her children as his own. If the deceased left no brother, she marries whom she pleases. They have, in some instances, four or five wives; but these are mostly sisters. If they marry into two families, the wives do not harmonize well together, and give the husband much inquietude; there is, however, no restriction in this respect, except the prudence of the husband. The grandfather and grandmother are very fond of their grandchildren, but these have very little respect for them. The female children respect and obey their parents: but the males are very disobedient, and the more obstinate they are, and the less readily they comply with the commands of their parents, the more the latter seem to be pleased, saying, ‘he will be a brave man, a great warrior, he will not be controlled!’ To wed her daughter to a chief, a brave warrior, or good hunter, every mother is solicitous: since these qualifications offer the same attractions to

the Indian mother, as family and fortune exhibit to the civilized parent."

A plurality of wives is permitted by the usage of many, perhaps of most tribes. But, Lewis and Clark inform us, that some of those who inhabit the country on the Columbia River, confine themselves, in their marriages, to one woman. Mackenzie represents the customs of the Northwestern Indians, in relation to this subject, as correspondent to those of the Omawhaws, and Konzas, as given by Major Long.

An anecdote from Heckewelder* elucidates the Indian ideas relative to marriage. "An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much of his time among the white people, both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, one day, about the year 1770, observed, that the Indians had not only a much *easier* way of getting a wife, than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a *good one*. 'For', said he, in his broken English, 'white man court—court—maybe one whole year—maybe two year, before he marry. Well!—maybe then got very good wife—but maybe *not*—maybe very cross. Well now, suppose cross—*scold* so soon get awake in the morning! *scold all day! scold until sleep!*—all one, he must keep *him*.† White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be *he* ever so cross!—must keep him always. Well! how does Indian do? Indian, when he sees industrious squaw, which he like, he go to *him*, place his two fore fingers close aside each other, make two look like one—look squaw in the face—see him smile—which is all one *he* say, yes. So he take *him* home. No danger *he* be cross! No! No! Squaw know too well what Indian do if *he*

* History of Indian Nations, pages 151, 2.

† Heckewelder says, the pronouns in the Indian language have no gender.

cross—throw *him* away, and take another. Squaw love to eat meat: no husband, no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband: he do the same to please squaw. Live happy!"

Among all the tribes, the condition of females, whether single or married, is abject in the extreme. A respectful tenderness for the softer sex, is a quality to which the savage bosom is a stranger; and there is no standard by which the degree of civilization and refinement, attained by a nation, can be graduated, with more certainty, than by their treatment of women. In those communities which have not emerged from barbarism, woman is subjected to every species of drudgery, and is a mere slave. Her life is not spared in war, and, if she becomes a captive, her fate is little different from that of male prisoners. But, as far as I am informed, it is not the habit of the American Aborigines to violate the chastity of their female captives. Many instances have occurred, in which white women have been borne off to the Indian towns, from our early settlements, and detained in long captivity, without cause of complaint on this subject. It is, however, the only point perhaps, on which their savage captors do not proceed to extremities of cruelty.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THEIR HABITATIONS, FURNITURE, AND CLOTHING.

THEIR dwellings are constructed of the simplest materials, such as can be most easily put together,

and of those kinds which the countries of their residence afford. Where forest growth is obtainable, small timbers are used for the frames of their houses ; and are covered with bark. In the extensive prairies west of the Mississippi, where, in many situations, no timber can be procured, either for the purposes of building or fuel, cabins are formed, sometimes of mud, sometimes of mats, made of rushes, or grass, supported within by poles, or forks, brought from a considerable distance.* Their shape is various. Some are square ; others are round ; others again are oblong, with square or rounded ends. Their size is proportioned to the number of persons for whose residence they are destined. In some instances several families dwell in the same cabin, which extends to the length of sixty feet, while that for a single family may not exceed fifteen. When they are of the smaller size, there is but one door, about four feet high, the aperture of which is covered by the skin of some wild animal, or by an old blanket. If the cabin is large, and inhabited by two or more families, there is a door at each end. When the weather is windy, or cold, the doors are imperfectly secured, and the air is in some degree excluded, by sticks fastened across the skin, or blanket. A hole or opening is left at the top, sometimes immediately over the centre of the cabin, where their fires are kindled, and sometimes extending the whole length of the building, for the escape of smoke, and admission of light.

Such are their permanent dwellings. But in the great prairies, many tribes provide themselves with moveable lodges, composed of poles covered with skins, which are thus described in Major Long's

* See Ricora lodge, L. & C. vol. 1. p. 106.

Journal.* “The poles, which are six or eight to each lodge, are from twenty to thirty feet in length, and are dragged constantly about in all their movements : so that the trail of a party with lodges is easily distinguished from that of a war party. When they halt, to encamp, the women immediately set up these poles, four of them being tied together by the smaller ends ; the larger, resting on the ground, are placed so far apart as to include as much space as the covering will surround. The remaining poles are added, to strengthen the work, and to give it a circular form. The covering is then made fast, by one corner, to the end of the last pole which is to be raised, by which means it is spread upon the frame with little difficulty. The structure, when completed, is in the form of a sharp cone. At the summit, is a small opening, for window, chimney, &c., out of which the lodge poles project some distance, crossing each other at the point where the four shortest are tied together. The skin lodge is greatly inferior, in point of comfort, particularly in the winter season, to the spacious mud cabins of the settled Indians. The poles necessary for the construction of these moveable dwellings, when not found in the countries where they are wanted, are purchased from the inhabitants of countries more plentifully supplied with timber. We were informed, that five of these poles are, among some of the Indians, equal in value to a horse.”

In every large town, and in some of their villages, a council house is erected, provided with seats around its whole extent, wherein they assemble on important occasions, either for the purpose of deliberating on their national affairs of war or

peace ; for religious worship ; for performing the ceremonies preparatory to a grand hunt, in which they implore the assistance of the Great Spirit ; for rendering him thanks when they have been successful, and have returned from the chase ; and for various other purposes. Their religious ceremonies are always accompanied by a solemn dance, in which their motions are slow, their countenances serious, and their whole conduct marked by decorum.*

The furniture of their houses may be comprehended in a very brief inventory. Where there is greatest intercourse with the whites, it consists of iron, or brass vessels, for cooking, serving up, and holding their food. But these vessels are of earth, or wood, among the tribes that have little or no commerce with the whites, and of their own manufacture. They have spoons, made of wood or horn ; coarse bedsteads, the bottoms of which are loose boards, sustained by cross pieces, laid in forks, with their lower ends driven into the ground, which is their only floor. They use mats or hides for seats ; and blankets or skins for covering, when they go to rest. Their dishes and plates are mats, of rushes or flags. Some of those tribes visited by Lewis and Clarke, displayed great skill in the construction of baskets. They are formed of cedar bark and bear-grass, so closely interwoven, that they are watertight, without the aid of either gum or rosin : and are of all sizes, from that of the smallest cup, to the capacity of five or six gallons. They serve, either to contain water, or to cover the head. Other baskets and bags, not water-proof, are made of cedar bark, silk-grass, rushes, flags, and common coarse sedge. The Indians inhabiting the prairies west of the Mississippi, use a singular vessel, for

* Mr. Duchouquet.

carrying and holding the water which they drink. It is the stomach of the buffalo, suspended on small sticks, which are laid on forks at the doors of their dwellings, when they are stationary. Other articles of their furniture are not worth enumerating.

Their clothing is of much greater variety than their furniture. From the frozen regions of the North, to the borders of Mexico, and its Gulf, there are so many different climates, that any thing like uniformity, in the quality or quantity of their articles of dress, cannot be adapted to all. In relation to this subject, our Indians, it might be presumed, would look little beyond what is absolutely necessary; and their resources are not always adequate to such a supply as would be sufficient, even for their hardy constitutions. Their children and old persons particularly are, in many of the tribes, often subjected to severe suffering, from the scantiness of their raiment. Yet, they are extremely solicitous to obtain such ornaments, as, according to their taste, will show their persons to advantage; and never fail to procure and to use them profusely, when within their reach. It will not be demanded from me to describe all the varieties of their costume. I must be content, and so, I flatter myself, will be my readers, with a description of the habits worn by a few of the tribes.

“The Esquimaux are covered in such a manner, that you can hardly see any part of their face, or the ends of their fingers. Upon a kind of shirt made of bladders, or the intestines of fish, cut in slips, and pretty well sewed together, they have a coat made of bear or deer-skins, and sometimes of bird-skins. A capuchin, made of the same stuff, and which is fastened to it, covers their head; upon the top of which there comes out a tuft of hair, which hangs

over their forehead : the shirt comes no lower than the waist : their coat hangs down, behind, to their thighs, and terminates, before, in a point, somewhat below the waist, but the women wear them both before and behind, to the middle of the leg, and bound with a girdle, from which hang little bones. The men have breeches of skins, with the hair inwards ; and which are covered on the outside with the skins of ermines, or such like. They wear also socks, with the hair inwards, and over this a boot, furred in like manner, on the inside ; then a second sock and boot : and they say, that these coverings for the feet are sometimes three or fourfold ; which does not, however, hinder these savages from being very nimble.”*

The dress of the Teton Okandandas, who are a tribe of the Great Sioux Nation, is thus described by Lewis and Clarke. “The men shave the hair off their heads, except a small tuft on the top, which they suffer to grow, and wear in plaits on the shoulders : to this they seem much attached, as the loss of it is the usual sacrifice on the death of near relations.† In full dress, the men of consideration wear a hawk’s feather, or calumet feather, worked with porcupine quills, and fastened to the top of the head, from which it falls back. The face and body are generally painted, with a mixture of grease and coal. Over the shoulders is a loose robe, or mantle, of buffalo skin, dressed white, adorned with porcupine quills, loosely fixed, so as to make a gingling noise when in motion, and painted with various uncouth figures, unintelligible to us, but to them emblematic of military exploits, or other re-

* Charlevoix, page 107.

† It is left for an additional reason : that their enemies may have no difficulty in taking off their scalps !

markable incidents. The hair of the robe is worn next the skin, in fair weather, but when it rains, is turned outside, and the robe is either thrown over the arm, or wrapped round the body, all of which it may cover. Under this, in winter, they wear a kind of shirt, resembling ours, and made either of skin or cloth, and covering the arms and body. Round the middle is fixed a girdle, of cloth, or dressed elk-skin, about an inch in width, and closely tied to the body: to this is attached a piece of cloth, or blanket, or skin, about a foot wide, which passes between the legs, and is tucked under the girdle, both before and behind. From the hip, to the ankle, they are covered by leggings of dressed antelope skins, with seams at the sides two inches in width, and ornamented by little tufts of hair, the produce of the scalps they have made in war, which are scattered down the leg. The winter mockasins are of dressed buffalo skin, the hair being worn inwards, and soaled with thick elk-skin parchment: those for summer are of deer or elk-skin, dressed without hair, and with soles of elk-skin. On great occasions, or whenever they are in full dress, the young men drag after them the entire skin of a polecat fixed to the heel of the mockasin. Another skin of the same animal is either tucked into the girdle or carried in the hand, and serves as a pouch for their tobacco, or what the French call the *bois roule*. This is the inner bark of a species of red willow, which being dried in the sun, or over the fire, is rubbed between the hands and broken into small pieces, and is used alone or mixed with tobacco. The pipe is generally of red earth, the stem made of ash, about three or four feet long, and highly decorated with feathers, hair, and porcupine quills."

“The hair of the women is suffered to grow long, and is plaited from the forehead across the head, at the back of which it is either collected into a kind of bag, or hangs down over the shoulders. Their mockasins are like those of the men, as are also the leggings, which do not, however, reach beyond the knee, where they are met by a long loose shift, of skin, which reaches nearly to the ankle: this is fastened over the shoulders by a string, and has no sleeves, but a few pieces of the skin hang a short distance down the arm. Sometimes a girdle fastens this skin round the waist, and over all, is thrown a robe, like that worn by the men. They seem fond of dress.”*

“The ordinary dress of the Konza warrior is a breech-cloth, of blue or red cloth, secured in its place by a girdle; a pair of leggings, made of dressed deer-skin, concealing the leg, except a small portion of the upper part of the thigh; a pair of mockasins made of dressed deer, elk, or bison skin, not ornamented; and a blanket to cover the upper part of the body, often thrown over one arm in hot weather, leaving that part naked; or it is even entirely thrown aside. The outer cartilage of the ear is cut through, in three places, and upon the rims, thus separated, various ornaments are suspended, such as wampum, string beads, silver or tin trinkets, &c. The hair of most of the chiefs and warriors is scrupulously removed from the head, being careful however, to leave enough, as in honour they are bound to do, to supply their enemy with a scalp, should they be vanquished. This residuum consists on a portion of the back of the head, of about the breadth of the hand, rounded at

* Lewis and Clarke, vol. 1. pages 87, 8.

its upper termination near the top of the head, the sides rectilinear, and nearly parallel, though slightly approaching each other towards the origin of the neck, where it abruptly terminates : on the exterior margin the hair is somewhat longer and erect ; this strip of hair is variously decorated : it is sometimes coloured on the margin with vermillion, sometimes a tail feather of the war eagle is attached transversely with respect to the head : this feather is white at the base, and black at tip ; but the principal ornament, which appears to be worn by some of their chief warriors, and which is at the same time by far the most handsome, is the tail of the common deer ; this is attached by the base near to the top of the patch of hair, the back of it resting on the hair, and the tip secured near the termination of the patch : the bristly hair of the tail is dyed red by a beautiful permanent colour, and parted, longitudinally, in the middle, by a broad silver plate, which is attached at top, and suffered to hang loose. Many of them are tattooed on different parts of the body.

“ The dress of the female is composed of a pair of mockasins, leggings of blue or red cloth, with a broad projecting border on the outside, and covering the leg to the knee, or a little above ; many, however, and perhaps almost a majority of them, do not, in common, wear this part of the dress. Around the waist, secured by a belt, or cestus, is wrapped a piece of blue cloth, the sides of which meet, or come nearly in contact on the outside of the right thigh, and the whole extends downward, as far as the knee, or to the mid-leg ; around the left shoulder is a similar piece of cloth, which is attached by two of the corners, at the axilla of the right arm, and extends downward, as far

as the waist. This garment is often laid aside; when the body, from the waist upwards, is entirely exposed. Their hair is suffered to grow long; it is parted longitudinally on the top of the head, and flows over the shoulders, the line of separation coloured with vermillion. Many of the women are tattooed.

“The men carefully pluck from their chins, axilla of the arms, eyebrows, and other parts, every hair of beard that presents itself: this is done with a spiral wire, which, when used, is placed with the side upon the part, and the ends are pressed towards each other so as to close the spires upon the hairs, which can then be readily drawn out; this instrument we observed to be an article of dress of the chiefs.”*

Charlevoix says, “Many make various figures, all over the body, by puncturing themselves; others only in some parts. They don’t do this merely for ornament: they find also, as it is said, great advantages by this custom. It serves greatly to defend them from the cold, renders them less sensible of the other injuries of the air, and frees them from the persecution of the gnats. But it is only in the countries possessed by the English, especially in Virginia, that the custom of pricking themselves all over the body is very common. In New France, the greatest part are satisfied with some figures of birds, serpents, or other animals, and even of leaves, and such like figures, without order or symmetry, but according to every one’s fancy, often in the face, and sometimes even on the eyelids. Many women are marked in the parts of the face that answer to the jaw-bones, to prevent the toothach.

* Long’s Journal.

“This operation is not painful in itself. It is performed in this manner : they begin by tracing on the skin, drawn very tight, the figure they intend to make ; then they prick little holes close together with the fins of a fish, or with needles, all over these traces, so as to draw blood ; then they rub them over with charcoal dust, and other colours well ground and powdered. These powders sink into the skin, and the colours are never effaced : but soon after the skin swells, and forms a kind of scab, accompanied with inflammation. It commonly excites a fever ; and if the weather is too hot, or the operation has been carried too far, there is danger of life. We see few women paint their faces ; but the men, and especially the young ones, are very curious in this ornament : there are some who employ half a day in painting themselves in this manner, only to go from door to door to be looked at, and who return mightily satisfied with themselves, though nobody has said a word to them.

“The warriors paint themselves, when they take the field, to intimidate their enemies, perhaps also to hide their fear ; for we must not think they all are exempt from it. The young people do it to conceal an air of youth, which would make them less taken for old soldiers, or a paleness remaining after some distemper, and which they are apprehensive might be taken for the effect of want of courage : they do it also to make them look handsome ; but then the colours are more lively, and more varied. They paint the prisoners that are going to die ; but I don't know why : perhaps it is to adorn the victim, who is to be sacrificed to the God of war. Lastly, they paint the dead, to expose them dressed in their finest robes ; and this is, with-

out doubt, to hide the paleness of death which disfigures them."

"There are no bands of the northern Indians who go entirely without clothes, even in the hottest summer weather ; and like all other savages they possess a great fondness for grotesque ornaments of feathers, skins, bones, and claws of animals."*

CHAPTER XX.

OF THEIR EXPEDITIONS FOR THE CHASE.

HUNTING and war are the only occupations of the male Indians, who disdain the labours of agriculture, and consign them entirely to their women. All the animal food on which they subsist is obtained by the chase, and forms the greater portion of their provision for each year. The active and successful hunter is, therefore, a distinguished character. They pursue their game at those seasons when it is in the best plight, and commence their preparations, by attention to those omens which they believe are suggested by their dreams ; by assembling in council ; and by the celebration of a feast. Long's Journal contains a description of the preparatory process observed by the Omawhaws, and of their mode of hunting the buffalo, which is worth transcribing. "When the trading and planting occupations of the people are terminated, and pro-

* Schoolcraft, p. 227.

visions begin to fail them, which occurs generally in June, the chiefs assemble a council for the purpose of deliberating upon the farther arrangements necessary to be made. This assembly decrees a feast to be prepared, on a certain day, to which all the distinguished men of the nation are to be invited, and one of their number is appointed to have it prepared, in his own lodge. On the return of this individual to his dwelling, he petitions his squaws to have pity on him, and proceed to clean and adjust the apartment; to spread the mats and skins for seats, and to collect wood, and bring water for cooking. He requests them to provide three or four large kettles, to prepare the maize, and to kill their fattest dog for a feast. The squaws generally murmur at this last proposition, being reluctant to sacrifice these animals, which are of great service to them in carrying burdens, like the dogs of the erratic Tartars: but when they are informed of the honour that awaits them, of feasting all the distinguished men, they undertake their duties with pride and satisfaction.

“When they have performed their part, the squaws give notice to the husband, who then calls two or three old public criers to his lodge. He invites them to be seated near him, and after the ceremony of smoking, he addresses them in a low voice, directing them to pass through the village, and invite the individuals, whom he names to them, to honour him by their presence, at the feast which is now prepared. ‘Speak in a loud voice,’ says he, ‘and tell them to bring their bowls and spoons.’ The criers, having thus received their instructions, sally out together, and, in concert, sing aloud, as they pass in various directions through the village. In this song of invitation, the names of all the elect

are mentioned. Having performed this duty, they return to the lodge, and are soon followed by the chiefs and warriors. The host seats himself in the back part of the lodge, facing the entrance, where he remains during the ceremony. If the host is invested with the dignity of chief, he directs those who enter, where to seat themselves, so that the chiefs may be arranged on one side, and the warriors on the other: if he is a warrior, he seats the principal chief of the village by his side, who whispers in his ear the situation which those who enter ought to occupy: this intimation is repeated aloud by the host. when the guests are all arranged, the pipe is lighted. and the indispensable ceremony of smoking succeeds.

“The principal chief then rises, and extending his expanded hand towards each in succession, gives thanks to them, individually, by name, for the honour of their company, and requests their patient attention to what he is about to say. He then proceeds, somewhat in the following manner: ‘Friends, and relatives, we are assembled here for the purpose of consulting respecting the proper course to pursue in our next hunting excursion, or whether the quantity of provisions, at present on hand, will justify a determination to remain here, to weed our maize.’ If it be decided to depart immediately, the subject to be then taken into view, will be the direction, extent, and object of the route.

“Having thus disclosed the business of the council, he is frequently succeeded by an old chief, who thanks him for his attention to their wants, and advises the assembly to pay great attention to what he has said, as he is a man of truth, of knowledge, and bravery. He farther assures them, that they have ample cause to return thanks to the Great Wahconda, for having sent such a man among them.

"The assembly then take the subject into their consideration, and, after much conversation, determine upon a route, which the principal chief proposed in his speech. This chief, previous to the council, is careful to ascertain the opinions and wishes of his people, and speaks accordingly.

"He sometimes, however, meets with opposition, from persons who propose other hunting grounds: but their discourses are filled with compliments to his superior knowledge and good sense. *The proceedings of the council are uniformly conducted with the most perfect good order, and decorum.*

"*Each speaker carefully abstains from militating against the sensibility of any of his hearers: and uncourteous expressions towards each other, on these occasions, are never heard. Generally, at each pause of the speaker, the audience testify their approbation, aloud, by the interjection HEH: and as they believe that he has a just right to his own opinions, however absurd they may appear to be, and opposite to their own, the expression of them excites no reprehension; and, if they cannot approve, they do not condemn, unless urged by necessity.*

"During the council, the criers remain seated, near the fire, listening to the proceedings, and, at the same time attending to the culinary apparatus, as neither the squaws, nor the children, are admitted.

"When the food is sufficiently cooked, the criers remove the kettles from the fire, and at the proper time, one of them takes up a portion of the soup, in a spoon, and after presenting it towards each of the four cardinal points, with one hand, whilst the other is elevated, and the palm extended, he casts it into the ashes of the fire: a small piece of the choice part of the meat is also sacrificed to the Great Wahconda, with the same formality, and is, doubtless, intended as an impetratory oblation.

"They then serve out the food to the guests.

placing the best portions before the chiefs. Each individual, on the reception of his portion, returns his thanks to the host, in such respectful expressions, as become his relative consequence; as, 'thank you father--thank you younger brother--thank you uncle, &c.,' after which, they eat, in silence. The criers help themselves out of the kettles, but are careful to leave a portion in those that are borrowed, to compensate for their use.

"The feast terminated, the ceremony of smoking succeeds, after which, the business and enjoyments of the council being concluded, the guests rise up, in succession, and, returning thanks to the host, pass out of the lodge in an orderly manner, first, the warriors, and then, the chiefs.

"The criers now sing through the village in praise of the host, thanking him before the people for his hospitality, repeating also the names of the chiefs who were present, and thanking them for their kindness to the old criers, who, they say, are disqualified by age for any other employments than those of eating, smoking, and talking: they also communicate to the people the resolution of the council.

"The prospect of a journey is highly grateful to the squaws, who lose no time in preparing for the day of departure, by actively and assiduously occupying themselves in mending mockasins, and other clothing; preparing their pack-saddles, and dog-sleds, and depositing in the earth, for safe-keeping, all the moveables which are not to be transported with them on the journey.

"The men, in the meantime, amuse themselves with hunting, playing with the hoop and stick, cards, dancing, &c., whilst, at night, the young warriors, and beaux, are occupied with the affairs of gallantry, or contriving assignations. The young men also adorn themselves with paint, and do honour to

chiefs, and distinguish braves, by dancing in their respective lodges.

“ The day assigned for their departure having arrived, the squaws load their horses and dogs, and place as great a weight upon their own backs as they can conveniently transport ; and after having closed the entrances to their several habitations, by placing a considerable quantity of brushwood before them, the whole nation departs from the village.

“ Those affluent chiefs and warriors who are the owners of many horses, are enabled to mount their families on horseback, but the greater portion of the young men and squaws are necessarily pedestrians.

“ Many of the latter, besides the heavy load upon their backs, surmounted, perhaps, by an infant, lead a horse with one hand, on the load of which another child is often placed, and properly secured there in a sitting posture. In the other hand they often bear a heavy staff of wood, sharpened to a broad edge at one end, for the purpose of digging up the nu-ga-ra, or ground-apple, called by the French the pomme blanche ; a root resembling a long turnip, about the size of a hen's egg, with a rough, thick skin, and hard pith. It is sometimes eaten raw, and has a sweet taste, but is rather dry ; or it is dried in the sun and pulverized ; in this state it furnishes the principal ingredient of an excellent soup.

“ The men scatter about in every direction, to reconnoitre the country for enemies and game ; but notwithstanding the constant activity of the hunters, the people often endure severe privation of food, previously to their arrival within view of the bisons, an interval of fifteen or twenty days.

“ When at length, the highly welcome news is brought, of the proximity of these animals, the nation proceeds to encamp at the nearest water course.

“ The hunters who are in advance of the main body on the march, resort to telegraphic signals, from an elevated position, to convey to the people, information respecting their discoveries. If they see buffaloes, they throw up their robes in a peculiar manner, as a signal for a halt: another disposition of the robe, intimates the proximity of an enemy: and if one of their party has been killed, two of the survivors communicate the intelligence, by running towards each other from a little distance; and on passing, one of them casts himself upon the earth.

“ On perceiving these latter signals, the warriors of the nation cast the burdens from their horses, and with their martial weapons, ride in full speed to meet them; exhibiting more the appearance of a race, than an ordinary advance to mortal combat.

“ The hunters, after making the signal for buffaloes, to induce the people to halt and encamp, return as expeditiously as possible; and on their approach, are received with some ceremony. The chiefs and conjurers are seated in front of their people, puffing smoke from their pipes, and thanking the Master of Life, with such expressions as, ‘ Thanks Master of Life ’—‘ Thank you Master of Life; here is smoke, I am poor, hungry, and want to eat.’ The hunters draw near to the chiefs and conjurers, and in a low tone of voice, inform them of the discovery of buffaloes. They are questioned as to the number, and reply by holding up to view some small sticks, in a horizontal position, and compare one herd, at a stated distance with this stick, and another, with that, &c.

“ It is then the business of some old man, as crier, to harangue the people, informing them of the discovery, requesting the squaws to keep in good heart, telling them that they have endured many hardships with fortitude; that there is now a termination to

their difficulties for the present, and, that on the morrow, the men will go in pursuit of the buffaloes, and without doubt bring them plenty of meat.

“ On all occasions of public rejoicings, festivals, dances, or general hunts, a certain number of resolute warriors are previously appointed to preserve order, and keep the peace. In token of their office, they paint themselves entirely black : usually wear the crow ; and arm themselves with a whip, or war-club, with which they punish, on the spot, those who misbehave ; and are at once, both judges and executioners. Thus at the buffalo hunts, they knock down, or flog, those, whose manœuvres tend to frighten the game, before all are ready, or previously to their having arrived at the proper point, from which to sally forth upon them.

“ Four or five such officers are appointed at a council of the chiefs held in the evening, to preserve order among the hunters for the ensuing day.

“ On the following morning, all the men, except the superannuated, depart early, in pursuit of the favourite game. They are generally mounted, and armed with bows and arrows. The officers of the day accompany the rapidly moving cavalcade, on foot, armed with war-clubs, and the whole are preceded by a footman bearing a pipe.

“ On coming in sight of the herd, the hunters speak kindly to their horses ; applying to them the endearing names of father, brother, uncle, &c. ; they petition them not to fear the buffaloes, but to run well, and keep close to them, but at the same time to avoid being gored. The party having approached as near to the herd as they suppose the animals will permit, without taking the alarm, they halt, to give the pipe-bearer an opportunity of smoking ; which is considered necessary to their success. He lights his pipe, and remains a short time with his

head inclined, and the stem of the pipe extended towards the herd. He then smokes, and puffs the smoke towards the buffaloes, towards the heavens, and the earth, and finally to the cardinal points successively. These last they distinguish by the terms, sunrise, sunset, cold country, and warm country ; or they designate them collectively by the phrase of the four winds.

“The ceremony of smoking being performed, the word for starting is given by the principal chief. They immediately separate into two bands, who pass in full speed to the right and left, and perform a considerable circuit, with the object of enclosing the herd, at a considerable interval between them. They then close in upon the animals, and each man endeavours to kill as many of them as his opportunity permits.

“It is upon this occasion, that the Indians display their horsemanship, and dexterity in archery. Whilst in full run, they discharge the arrow with an aim of much certainty, so that it penetrates the body of the animal behind the shoulder. If it should not bury itself so deeply as they wish, they are often known to ride up to the enraged animal, and withdraw it. They observe the direction and depth to which the arrow enters, in order to ascertain whether or not the wound is mortal, of which they can judge with a considerable degree of exactness ; when a death wound is inflicted, the hunter raises a shout of exultation, to prevent others from pursuing the individual of which he considers himself certain. He then passes on in pursuit of another, and so on until his quiver is exhausted, or the game has fled beyond his farther pursuit.

“The force of the arrow, when discharged by a

dexterous and athletic Indian, is very great, and we were even credibly informed, that under favourable circumstances, it has been known to pass entirely through the body of a buffalo, and actually to fly some distance, or fall to the ground, on the opposite side of the animal.

“Notwithstanding the apparent confusion of this engagement, and that the same animal is sometimes feathered by arrows from different archers before he is despatched, or considered mortally wounded, yet, as each man knows his own arrows from all others, and can also estimate the nature of the wound, whether it would produce a speedy death to the animal, quarrels respecting the right of property in the prey seldom occur, and it is consigned to the more fortunate individual, whose weapon penetrated the most vital part. The chase having terminated, each Indian can trace back his devious route to the starting place, so as to recover any small article he may have lost.

“A fleet horse, well trained to the hunt, runs at the proper distance, with the reins thrown upon his neck, parallel with the buffalo, turns as he turns, and does not cease to exert his speed until the shoulder of the animal is presented, and the fatal arrow is implanted there. He then complies with the motion of his rider, who leans to one side in order to direct his course to another buffalo. Such horses as these are reserved by their owners exclusively for the chase, and are but rarely subjected to the drudgery of carrying burdens.

“When the herd has escaped, and those that are only wounded, or disabled, are secured, the hunters proceed to flay and cut up the slain.

“Some individual will usually offer his buffalo to the medicine men, either voluntarily, or at the request

of a chief, and on the succeeding day it is cooked, and all the distinguished men are invited to partake of the feast.

“In the operation of butchering, a considerable knowledge of the anatomical structure of the animal is exhibited, in laying open the muscles properly, and extending them into the widest and most entire surfaces, by a judicious dissection.

“If they are much pressed by hunger, they in the first place open the flank, in order to obtain the kidneys, which are then eaten, without waiting for the tardy process of culinary preparation.

“A hunter, who has been unsuccessful, assists some one in skinning and cutting up, after which he thrusts his knife into the part he wishes for his own share, and it is given him.

“If the squaws should arrive, the knife is resigned to them, whilst the men retire a short distance from the scene, to smoke and rest themselves.

“The slaughtered animals are chiefly, and almost exclusively, cows, selected from the herd; the bulls being only eatable in the months of May and June.

“Every eatable part of the animal is carried to the camp, and preserved, excepting the feet and the head, but the brains are taken from the skull, for the purpose of dressing the skin, or converting it into Indian leather. Those skins which are obtained during this season, are known by the name of summer skins, and are used in the construction of their skin lodges, and for their personal clothing for summer wear. Three squaws will transport all the pieces of the carcass of a buffalo, excepting the skin, to the camp, if the latter is at any moderate distance. And it is their province to

prepare the meat, &c. for keeping. The vertebræ are comminuted by means of stone axes, similar to those which are not unfrequently ploughed up in the Atlantic States: the fragments are then boiled, and the rich fat, or marrow, which rises, is carefully skimmed off, and put up in bladders for future use. The muscular coating of the stomach is dried; the smaller intestines are cleaned and inverted so as to include the fat that had covered their exterior surface, and then dried; the larger intestines, after being cleaned, are stuffed with meat, and cooked for present eating.

“The meat, with the exception of that of the shoulders, or hump, as it is called, is then dissected with much skill, into large thin slices, and dried in the sun, or jerked over a slow fire, on a low scaffold.

“The bones of the thighs, to which a small quantity of flesh is left adhering, are placed before the fire until the meat is sufficiently roasted, when they are broken, and the meat and marrow afford a most delicious repast. These, together with the tongue and hump, are esteemed the best parts of the animal.

“The meat, in its dried state, is closely condensed together into quadrangular packages, each of a suitable size to attach conveniently to one side of the packsaddle of a horse. The dried intestines are interwoven together into the form of mats, and tied up into packages of the same form and size. They then proceed to *cache*, or conceal in the earth, these acquisitions, after which they continue onward, in pursuit of the herds of their favourite animal.

“The nation returns towards their village in the month of August, halting for a short time at the

Pawnee villages, for the purpose of trading their guns for horses.

“They are sometimes so successful in their expedition in the accumulation of meat, as to be obliged to make double trips, returning about mid-day, for half the whole quantity which was left in the morning. When within two or three days’ journey of their own village, runners are despatched to it, charged with the duty of ascertaining the safety of it, and the state of the maize.

“On the return of the nation, which is generally early in September, a different kind of employment awaits the ever industrious squaws. The property buried in the earth is to be taken up, and arranged in the lodges, which are cleaned out, and put in order. The weeds, which during their absence, had grown up, in every direction through the village, are cut down and removed.

“A sufficient quantity of sweet corn is next to be prepared, for present and future use. While the maize is yet in the milk, or soft state, and the grains have nearly attained their full size, it is collected, and boiled on the cob; but the poor who have no kettles, place the ear, sufficiently guarded by its husk, in the hot ashes, until properly cooked: the maize is then dried, shelled from the cob, again exposed to the sun, and afterwards packed away for keeping, in neat leathern sacks. The grain prepared in this manner has a shrivelled appearance, and a sweet taste; whence its name. It may be boiled at any season of the year, with nearly as much facility as the recent grain, and has much the same taste.

“They also pound it into a kind of small hominy, which, when boiled into a thick mush, with a pro-

per proportion of the smaller entrails, and jerked meat, is held in much estimation.

“When the maize which remains on the stalk is fully ripe, it is gathered, shelled, dried, and also packed away in leathern sacks. They sometimes prepare this hard corn for eating, by the process of *leying* it, or boiling it in a ley of wood ashes, for the space of an hour or two, which divests it of the hard exterior skin, after which it is well washed and rinsed. It may then be readily boiled to an eatable softness, and affords a palatable food.

“The hard ripe maize is also broken into small pieces, between two stones, one or two grains at a time, the larger stone being placed on a skin, that the flying fragments may not be lost. This coarse meal is boiled into a mush called Wanade. It is sometimes parched previously to being pounded, and the mush prepared from this description of meal is distinguished by the term Wajunga *. With each of these two dishes, a portion of the small intestines of the buffalo called Tashaba, is boiled, to render the food more juicy.”

Major Long's Journal proceeds to describe a species of food, consumed by these Indians, which

* Many of the Indian tribes parch their corn, or maize, reduce it into flour, and carry it with them on their excursions. By mingling a small quantity with water, a refreshing drink is quickly prepared.

Other tribes, I believe those of the North principally, lay up a species of provision called pemican, on which they subsist while travelling. It is thus prepared: The lean parts of the flesh of the larger animals are cut in thin slices, and are placed on a wooden grate, over a slow fire, or exposed to the sun, and sometimes to the frost. These operations dry it, and in that state it is pounded between two stones; it will then keep with ease for several years. If, however, it is kept in large quantities, it is disposed to ferment in the spring of the year, when it must be exposed to the air, or it will soon decay. The inside fat, and that of the rump, which is much thicker in their wild than our domestic animals, is melted down and mixed, in a boiling state, with the pounded meat, in equal proportions; it is then put in baskets or bags for the convenience of carrying it.

indicates either a singular taste, or extreme scarcity of subsistence. "A species of ant is abundant in their country. The squaws collect them, place them on a flat stone, and, by the pressure of a rolling pin, they are crushed together into a dense mass, and rolled out like pastry. Of this substance a soup is prepared, relished by the Indians, but not at all to the taste of white men.

"We could not learn," says the Journal, "that any one of the nations of the Missouri Indians is accused, even by their enemies, of eating human flesh, from choice, or for the gratification of a horrible luxury: starvation alone can induce them to eat of it. An Ioway Indian, however, having killed an Osage, compelled some children of his own nation to eat of the uncooked flesh of the thigh of his victim. And a Sioux, of the St. Peters, dried some of the flesh of a Chippeway whom he had killed, and presented it to some white men, who ate it without discovering the imposition.

"The Indians," proceeds the Journal, "eat the lice which they detect in each others heads. The squaws search for them, and have been often seen by us, so occupied, with activity, earnestness, and much success! One of them who was engaged in combing the head of a white man, was asked why she did not eat the vermin? she replied, that 'white men's lice were not good.'"

As the Indians depend essentially on the contingent supplies of the chase, it frequently happens, even where game is abundant, that ill success, arising from a multitude of casualties to which the hunter is liable, subjects them to a distressful state of want. The foregoing quotations from Long afford proofs of an appetite severely pressed for re-

sources : and Lewis and Clarke,* besides other travellers, tell us that their sufferings for food are sometimes extreme. In such emergencies, they boil and eat the moss growing on the pine, the seeds of the long-leaved pine, and its inner bark. They consume the entrails of deer, little cooked, with their hides and hair, and feed on the filthiest garbage.

The frequent vicissitudes of abundance and scarcity to which they are liable, render them extremely voracious when in possession of plenty. Charlevoix says,† “ We have seen some, after their stomachs were swelled four inches, still continue eating as heartily as if they had just begun. When they find themselves overcharged, they smoke, then they sleep, and, when they awake, the digestion is generally perfected. Sometimes they take an emetic, after which they begin to eat again.”

Their improvidence is astonishing. “ The Omaha,” says Long, “ seldom renders himself unhappy by gloomy anticipations of the future, but almost literally takes no ‘care for the morrow.’ He will say to his squaw, ‘Cook what meat you have, for the Wahconda will give us more to-morrow, and if not to-morrow, next day, and if not the next day, never ; let us eat what we have got.’”†

Yet they are never deficient in hospitality, so far as their resources will enable them to practise this quality. “ In the kindest spirit of hospitality, they are always careful to treat their guests in the manner which they suppose will be most agreeable to them. A trader was invited to a feast, and the food being prepared, a squaw, who was about to serve it up, in order to clean a bowl to contain it,

* Lewis and Clarke, II. pages 274. 376.

† Vol. I. page 286.

† Page 213.

began to scoop it with her curved finger. Her husband observing this usual mode of depuration, reprimanded her, saying 'I have told you that the white people do not like to see bowls cleaned in this manner, give me the vessel and I will show you how they clean them.' He then drew out one corner of his breech-clout, and substituting it for a towel, wiped the bowl thoroughly, and returned it to the squaw. The trader, as in duty bound, tasted of the contents, but he would have preferred the agency of the finger of the squaw, to that of the old breech-clout of the husband."*

The senses of hearing and of vision are in continued exercise while in pursuit of game, or engaged in hostilities. Hence they appear to possess these faculties in higher perfection than the whites. But our own skilful hunters are little, if at all, inferior to them in all those qualities which are necessary to success in the chase or in war. The Europeans, on their first acquaintance with the Indians, formed extravagant ideas on subjects of this kind.

I do not think it necessary to say any thing specially on their mode of pursuing and taking those wild animals well known to the whites. But the manner of chasing the antelope, a creature remarkable for its swiftness, may be worth presenting to my readers.

"The chief game of the Shoshonees," say Lewis and Clarke, "is the antelope, which, when pursued, retreats to the open plains, where the horses have full room for the chase. But such are its extraordinary fleetness and wind, that a single horse has no possible chance of outrunning it, or tiring it down; and the hunters are therefore obliged to re-

* Long's Journal.

sort to stratagem. About twenty Indians, mounted on fine horses, and armed with bows and arrows, left the camp. In a short time they descried a herd of antelopes. They immediately separated into little squads of two or three, and formed a scattered circle round the herd for five or six miles, keeping at a wary distance, so as not to alarm them, till they were perfectly enclosed, and usually selecting some commanding eminence as a stand. Having gained their positions, a small party rode towards the herd, and with wonderful dexterity, the huntsman preserved his seat, and the horse his footing, as he ran at full speed over the hills, and down the steep ravines, and along the borders of the precipices. They were soon outstripped by the antelopes, which, on gaining the other extremity of the circle, were driven back, and pursued by the fresh hunters. They turned, and flew, rather than ran, in another direction : but there, too, they found new enemies. In this way they were pursued, alternately backward and forward, till at length, notwithstanding the skill of the hunters, they all escaped, and the party, after running for two hours, returned without having caught any thing, and their horses foaming with sweat. This chase, the greater part of which was seen from the camp, formed a beautiful scene ; but to the hunters, is exceedingly laborious, and so unproductive, even when they are able to worry the animal down and shoot him, that forty or fifty hunters will sometimes be engaged for half a day, without taking more than two or three antelopes.”*

Mr. Schoolcraft relates an anecdote, not unlike another told by the Moravian Missionary Heckewelder, which last has been so frequently published

* Vol. I. p. 369.

in newspapers and almanacks, that I will not repeat it.

In descending the Ontonagon river, which falls into Lake Superior, Mr. Schoolcraft says, "Our Indian guides stopped on the east side of the river to examine a bearfall that had been previously set, and were overjoyed to find a large bear entrapped. As it was no great distance from the river, we all landed to enjoy the sight. The animal sat up on his forepaws, facing us, the hinder paws being pressed to the ground by a heavy weight of logs, which had been arranged in such a manner as to allow the bear to creep under, and when, by seizing the bait, he had sprung the trap, he could not extricate himself, although with his forepaws he had demolished a part of the works. After viewing him for some time, a ball was fired through his head, but did not kill him. The bear kept his position, and seemed to growl in defiance. A second ball was aimed at the heart, and took effect; but he did not resign the contest immediately, and was at last despatched with an axe. As soon as the bear fell, one of the Indians walked up, and addressing him by the name of Muck-wah, shook him by the paw, with a smiling countenance, saying in the Indian language, he was sorry they had been under the necessity of killing him, and hoped the offence would be forgiven, particularly as Long-Knife* had fired one of the balls."†

"The geographical acquaintance of the Indians with the country over which they roam is remarkably exact. But although they are very accurate in their knowledge of the proper direction in which to travel, in order to reach a given point, yet they

* An American.

† Schoolcraft's Journal, p. 183.

are often lost during foggy days or heavy snow storms.”* Incidents of this kind, we may presume, most frequently occur in the widely extended prairies. Where timber grows abundantly, the experienced hunter, whether he is a red or a white man, will steer his course correctly by the indications which he derives from the trees. Their growth instructs him how to distinguish north from south. He knows that the bark is thickest and roughest on the northern sides of trees; that moss is found in greatest quantity on those sides; and that the large branches of many trees, especially of pines, point principally to the south.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THEIR DANCES, GAMES, AND OTHER DIVERSIONS.

THE general deportment of the Indians, in presence of the whites, is marked by gravity, and taciturnity. But they are addicted, in their social intercourse with each other, to various sports and amusements, among which, dancing and gaming are their greatest favourites. All their dances are distinguished by an appropriate name: such as the war dance, the scalp dance, the dog dance, the buffalo dance, the medicine dance, the beggar's dance, and probably many others. Some of these will be so described as to impart a sufficiently accurate idea of the manner in which they practise this amusement, frequently resorted to for the purpose

* Long's Journal.

of showing their respect to strangers and distinguished persons, whom they intend to honour.

In Major Long's Journal, the beggar's dance is thus described: "About one hundred Ottoes, together with a deputation of the Ioway nation, who had been summoned by Major O'Fallon, (Indian agent for the government of the United States,) presented themselves at our camp. The principal chiefs advanced before their people, and, upon invitation, seated themselves. After a short interval of silence, Shonga-Tonga, the Big horse, a large, portly Indian, of a commanding presence, arose, and said, 'My father, your children have come to dance before your tent, agreeably to our custom of honouring brave or distinguished persons.' After a suitable reply from Major O'Fallon, the amusement of dancing was commenced, by the striking up of their rude instrumental and vocal music, the former consisting of a gong made of a large keg, over one end of which a skin was stretched, which was struck by a small stick; and another instrument consisting of a stick of firm wood, notched like a saw, over the teeth of which a smaller stick was rubbed forcibly backward and forward. With these, rude as they were, very good time was preserved with the vocal performers, who sat around them; and by all the natives as they sat, in the inflection of their bodies, or the movements of their limbs. After the lapse of a little time, three individuals leaped up, and danced around for a few minutes; then, at a concerted signal from the master of ceremonies, the music ceased, and they retired to their seats, uttering a loud noise, which, by patting the mouth rapidly with the hand, was broken into a succession of similar sounds, some-

what like the hurried barking of a dog. Several sets of dancers succeeded, each terminating as the first. In the intervals of the dances, a warrior would step forward, and strike a flagstaff they had erected, with a stick, whip, or other weapon, and recount his martial deeds. This ceremony is called *striking the post*,* and whatever is then said, may be relied on as rigid truth, being delivered in the presence of many a jealous warrior and witness, who could easily detect, and would immediately disgrace, the *striker*, for exaggeration, or falsehood. This is called the beggar's dance, during which some presents are always expected by the performers; as tobacco, whiskey, or trinkets. But, on this occasion, as none of these articles were immediately offered, the amusement was not, at first, distinguished by much activity. The master of ceremonies continually called aloud to them, to exert themselves; but still they were somewhat dull and backward. Ietan (the master of ceremonies,) now stepped forward, and lashed a post with his whip, declaring, that he would thus punish those who did not dance. This threat, from one whom they had vested with authority for this occasion, had a manifest effect upon his auditors, who were presently highly wrought up, by the sight of two or three little mounds of tobacco twist, which were now laid before them, and appeared to infuse new life. After lashing the post, and making his threat, Ietan went on to narrate his martial exploits. He had stolen horses, seven or eight times, from the Konzas; he had first struck the bodies of three of that nation, slain in battle. He had stolen horses from the

* Of this an explanation will hereafter be given.

Ietan nation, and had struck one of their dead. He had stolen horses from the Pawnees, and struck the body of one Pawnee Loup. He had stolen horses several times from the Omawhaws, and once from the Pimcas. He had struck the bodies of two Sioux. On a war party, in company with the Pawnees, he had attacked the Spaniards, and penetrated into one of their camps. The Spaniards, except a man and a boy, fled. He was at a distance before his party, and was shot at, and missed, by the man, whom he immediately shot down, and struck. 'This, my father,' said he, 'is the only martial act of my life that I am ashamed of.' After several rounds of dancing, and of striking at the post, by the warriors, Miaketa, or the little soldier, a war-worn veteran, took his turn to strike the post. He leaped actively about, and strained his voice to its utmost pitch, while he portrayed some of the scenes of blood in which he had acted. He had struck dead bodies of all the red nations around, Osages, Konzas, Pawnee Loups, Pawnee Republicans, Grand Pawnees, Puncas, Omawhaws, Sioux, Paducas, La Plais, or Baldheads, Ietans, Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways. He had struck eight of one nation, seven of another, &c. He was proceeding with his account, when Ietan ran up to him, put his hand upon his mouth, and respectfully led him to his seat. This act was no trifling compliment, paid to the well known brave. It indicated, that he had still so many glorious acts to speak of, that he would occupy so much time as to prevent others from speaking, and put to shame the other warriors, by the contrast of his actions with theirs.

“ Their physical action is principally confined to

leaping a small distance from the ground, with both feet, the body being slightly inclined; and, upon alighting, an additional slight, but sudden inclination of the body is made so as to appear like a succession of jerks; or the feet are raised alternately, the motions of the body being the same. Such are their movements, in which the whole party correspond; but, in the figures, as they are termed, in our assembly rooms, each individual performs a separate part, and each part is a significant pantomimic narrative. In all their variety of action, they are careful to observe the musical cadences. In this dance, Ietan represents one who was in the act of stealing horses. He carried a whip in his hand, as did a considerable number of the Indians, and around his neck were thrown several leathern thongs, for bridles, and halters, the ends of which trailed upon the ground behind him. After many preparatory manœuvres, he stooped down, and, with his knife, represented the act of cutting the hobbles of horses; he then rode his tomahawk, as children ride their broomsticks, making such use of his whip, as to indicate the necessity of rapid movement, lest his foes should overtake him. Wa-sa-ba-jing-ga, or Little Black Bear, after a variety of gestures, threw several arrows, in succession, over his head, thereby indicating his familiarity with the flight of such missiles; he, at the same time, covered his eyes with his hand, to indicate that he was blind to danger. Others represented their manœuvres in battle, seeking their enemy, discharging at him their guns and arrows, &c. &c. Most of the dancers were the principal warriors of the nation, men who had not condescended to amuse themselves, or others, in this manner, for years before; but they now appeared in honour of the occasion, and to conciliate

in their best manner, the good will of the representative of the government of the *Big knives.

“ Among these veteran warriors, Ietan, or Shamonekussee, Hashea, the Broken Arm, commonly called Cutnose, and Wasabajinga, or Little Black Bear, three youthful leaders, in particular attracted our attention. In consequence of having been appointed soldiers on this occasion to preserve order, they were painted entirely black. The countenance of the former indicated much wit, and had, in its expression, something of the character of that of Voltaire. He frequently excited the mirth of those about him by his remarks and gestures. Hashea, called Cutnose, in consequence of having lost the tip of his nose in a quarrel with Ietan, wore a handsome robe of white wolfskin, with an appendage behind him called a *crow*. This singular decoration is a large cushion, made of the skin of a crow, stuffed with any light material, and variously ornamented. It has two decorated sticks projecting from it upward, and a pendent one beneath. This apparatus is secured upon the buttocks, by a girdle, passing round the body. The other actors in the scene were decorated with paints, of several colours, fantastically disposed upon their persons. Several were painted with white clay, which had the appearance of being grooved in many places. This grooved appearance is given, by drawing the finger nails over the part, so as to remove the pigment from thence, in parallel lines. These lines are either rectilinear, undulated, or zigzag: sometimes passing over the forehead transversely, or vertically; sometimes in the same directions, or obliquely over the whole visage, or upon the breast, arms, &c.

* The appellation by which the Indians distinguish the whites of the United States.

Many were painted with red clay, in which the same lines appeared. A number of them had the representation of a black hand, with outspread fingers, on different parts of the body, strongly contrasted with the principal colour with which the body was overspread; the hand was depicted in different positions upon the face, breast, and back. The faces of others were coloured one half black, and the other white, &c. Many coloured their hair with red clay; but the eyelids and base of the ears, were generally tinged with vermillion. At the conclusion of the ceremony, whiskey, which they always expect on similar occasions, was produced, and a small portion given to each. The principal chiefs of the different nations, who had remained passive spectators of the scene, now directed their people to return to their camp. The word of the chiefs was obeyed, except by a few of the Ioways, who appeared to be determined to keep their places, notwithstanding the reiterated command of the chiefs. Ietan now sprang towards them, with an expression of much ferocity in his countenance, and it is probable, a tragic scene would have been displayed, had not the chiefs requested him to use gentle means, and thus he succeeded, after which the chiefs withdrew.”*

In the year 1819 an expedition was projected by Governor Cass of Michigan, for exploring the North Western regions of the Union; of the great chain of Lakes, and of the sources of the Mississippi River. Mr. Calhoun, then secretary of the War Department, approved of the Governor's plan, and enabled him to carry it into effect. Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, a gentleman distinguished for his scientific attainments, was appointed mineralogist to

* Vol. 1st, page 153.

the expedition, and accompanied the Governor in that character. The journey was made in the year 1820, and Mr. Schoolcraft has published his journal, containing many interesting details, with respect to the Red people of the region over which he passed. When the Governor and his party arrived on Grand Island, which is situated not far from the southern shore of Lake Superior, they found a village of Chippeway Indians, who, as soon as they landed, went from their lodges to welcome the arrival of the whites. Mr. Schoolcraft says, "In the evening, they assembled in our camp, to show their skill in dancing, upon which they all pride themselves; and spent some time in this amusement, which is also done as a mark of respect. In these festive feats they were accompanied by their own music, consisting of a kind of tambourine, and a hollow gourd, filled with pebbles, while one of the number beat time upon a stick, and all joined in the Indian chant. There is something animating in the Indian chorus, and at the same time it has an air of melancholy: but certainly, nothing can be more monotonous, or farther removed from our idea of music."*

Lewis and Clarke, in the history of their expedition to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, have given descriptions of various dances performed for their entertainment. But they are, in general, so much alike, and so similar to those already described, that it is unnecessary to go further on this subject. Some of their dances are extremely offensive, from their gross indecency, and exhibit scenes which none but savages would consent to view. Such are the buffalo dance and the medicine dance.

An Indian game is described by Lewis and Clarke, as it is played by a tribe on the Missouri, in some

* Schoolcraft's Journal, page 155.

degree resembling billiards. "A distance of about fifty yards," say they, "was covered with timber, smoothed and joined, so as to be as level as the floor of one of our houses, with a battery at the ends, so as to stop the rings. These rings were of clay-stone, and flat, like the chequers for draughts. The sticks were about four feet long, with two short pieces at one end, in the form of a mace, so fixed that the whole will slide along the board. Two men place themselves at one end, each provided with a stick, and one of them with a ring. They then run along the board, and about half way, slide the sticks after the rings."

Other games which the Indians play, are mentioned by those who have travelled among them. But, a particular description of them would afford little interest. The concurrent testimony of all observers of their manners and habits, goes to establish the fact, that they are inordinately addicted to the vice of gaming: that they are often occupied in it for days and nights in succession; and that they hazard every thing they possess, in their indulgence of this propensity. Some travellers have asserted that they carry it so far, as to stake even their personal liberty at play. But no instance of that kind, as far as I am informed, is noticed by the intelligent American gentlemen; who within the last thirty years have visited these tribes.

CHAPTER XXII.

THEIR MODE OF APPOINTING CHIEFS.—THEIR EXPEDITIONS FOR WAR; AND TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

“IN some of the Northern tribes, the dignity of chief is elective: all the ceremony of the election and installation, consists in feasts, accompanied with dances and songs. The chief elected never fails to make the panegyric of him whose place he takes, and to invoke his genius. With others, it is hereditary; and the succession is continued by the woman's side; so that at the death of the chief, it is not his son who succeeds him, but his sister's son; or, in the case of the failure of such, the nearest relation by the female line. If a whole branch happens to be extinct, the noblest matron of a tribe chooses the person she likes best, and declares him chief.”*

“Wars generally originate in the stealing of horses, and the elopement of squaws: they are sometimes the consequence of infringing on each other's hunting grounds. Hostilities are generally conducted by small predatory parties, which are originated and formed under the influence of some approved warrior. An individual of this description, having determined to endeavour to assemble a war-party, as a first step, paints himself over with white clay; he then passes through the camp or village, crying aloud to the Wah-con-da; and requesting the young warriors of the nation to have pity on him, and accom-

* Charlevoix, p. 181, 2.

pany him to strike at the enemy : he then ascends some hill or elevation, or repairs to the woods, and there continues for some time his ejaculations. The following day he gives a feast to all such as are willing to accompany him ; and it is distinctly understood, that all those who partake of his hospitality on this occasion, are enlisted for the excursion. He occasionally repeats this crying and feasting, until a convenient period can be assigned for their departure. During this interval, he also occupies himself in *making medicine*, hanging out his medicine bags, &c. At his feasts, he harangues his men, telling them that they must endeavour to make themselves known to the nation, by their warlike deeds.

“ This leader, the French distinguish by the name of partizan ; and his medicine parcel, on which much reliance is placed, for the successful termination of their adventure, contains, almost always, the skin of a sparrow-hawk, and many small articles, such as wampum, beads, and tobacco ; all attached to a belt, but carefully and neatly enveloped in bark, and tied round by strips of the same material, forming a cylindrical figure, about twelve inches in length.

“ This is suspended upon the back or shoulders of the partizan, by his belt, which passes around his neck.

“ Having their mockasins, leggings, guns, bows and arrows, spears, war-clubs, and scalping-knives prepared, each man furnishes himself with some provisions, and they all depart, silently, during the night, led by the partizan.

“ On their route towards the enemy, they proceed with great caution ; and constantly send forward runners, or spies, to reconnoitre. When encamped, some individuals are vigilant during the night ; but if they suppose themselves to be distant from the enemy, they keep no watch.

“ The medicine bag is not permitted to touch the ground : accordingly, on encamping, it is carefully suspended to a forked stick, which is stuck firmly into the soil : the ceremony of smoking to it, is then performed, the stem of the pipe being occasionally directed towards it, the heavens, and the earth. After this ceremony, if the party is in the vicinity of the enemy, the partizan places the medicine bag about the neck of one of his most trusty warriors, and whispering in his ear, directs him to take two or three men, and look carefully about for signs of the enemy.

“ On the return of this messenger, the partizan runs to meet him, receives his report in a whisper, takes the important charge from his neck, and whilst returning it to its place, communicates the intelligence he has received to his party ; ‘ no sign of the enemy has yet been discovered ; but have patience my brave young men, the Wah-con-da will soon have pity on us, and show us the enemy we so anxiously seek.’ If, on the contrary, the enemy is discovered, their position and numbers are reconnoitered, and the party prepares to attack them. The sacred medicine bag is now opened by the partizan ; the envelope is rejected, and the remainder is suspended from his neck, with the bird-skin, wampum, &c. hanging down before, from the belt. This is a signal indicating that a blow must be struck. The party then paint themselves, and smoke, if time admits it. The partizan at length gives the wished-for order, and the whole move onward, with slow and cautious steps, in order to surprise the enemy ; but if discovered, they rush on with impetuosity, and without any regular order. If the scene of contest lies in the forest, they shield themselves behind trees of small diameter, when at a proper distance, from whence they discharge their missiles. If the attack

is made in the open plain, where no shelter offers, they leap about from one side to another, and preserve a constant state of activity, for the purpose of preventing any steady aim from being taken at them by their adversaries.

“It is not the mere shooting down of an enemy, that confers great honour on a warrior; this, the Indians say, can be done by any person, however cowardly he may be. But high distinction is due to the gallant soul, that advances on the field of battle, and captures an enemy; and who first strikes, or even touches the body of a fallen enemy, in presence of the friends of the deceased, who are generally watching their opportunity to revenge his death.

“This is, indeed, an extraordinary proof of courage; as the act is not to be accomplished without the greatest hazard of life; the adventurer is obliged to expose himself, often, to a great number of assailants; besides the danger of falling into an ambush, in attempting to strike the decoy. It is this *striking*, that is numbered among their war-feats, by the warriors at their dances.

“The capture of a prisoner, confers the highest honour on the captor.* Striking an enemy, whilst active, appears to be the second in rank, of their great martial achievements. Striking his dead, or disabled body, confers the third honour. Capturing a horse may be regarded as the fourth; presenting a horse to any person, the fifth; and the shooting, or otherwise killing an enemy by a missile, is the sixth in point of military deeds, in the estimation of the Omawhaws. The taking of a scalp is merely an evidence of what has been done, and of itself, seems to confer no honour.

* Charlevoix concurs with Long, on this subject. It is remarkable, how slight are the differences between all the Indian tribes on our continent, in relation to most of their customs.

“ The prisoners are well guarded, and not roughly treated, unless a strong party of the enemy are in pursuit, when they are put to death.

“ On the battle-ground, the wounded of the vanquished are killed, and their dead are cut and hacked by the victors ; but if it should chance to be accessible to the squaws,* they perform the chief part in this tragedy. They sever the limbs from the bodies, and attaching them to strings, drag them about with vociferous exultation. Upon such occasions, these fiends in human form, pursue a course of conduct, which outrages every feeling of decency and humanity.

“ A war-party, after having struck a blow upon the enemy, return with rapidity towards their village.

“ They leave the mutilated carcasses of the slain, upon the contested field, a prey to the wolves and vultures. Their own dead are covered with wood and stones ; and their wounded are transported on litters, on the shoulders of others ; or, if they have horses with them, upon cars, of a very simple construction. Two poles are attached to the neck of the horse, in the manner of shafts, which trail upon the ground behind. These are so connected, behind the horse, with cross pieces lashed on, that a bison robe can be suspended to them, for the reception of the wounded person.

“ If the attack is made during the night, or if the party has only captured horses, unobserved by the enemy, a mockasin, or arrow, is left in a conspicuous situation, to inform the enemy, of the nation to which the aggressors belong.

* An exception to the remark, made at the close of the last note, arises from the fact, that in the country, west of the Rocky Mountains, women never attend their war-parties. Such is the assertion of Lewis and Clarke.

Large war parties sometimes divide into smaller parties, in order to attack simultaneously at different points. Each of these parties, on their return, at their different encampments, insert small painted sticks in the soil, pointing to the route they have taken. They also peel off a portion of the bark from a tree, and on the trunk thus denuded and rendered conspicuous, they delineate hieroglyphics with vermilion or charcoal, indicative of the success or misfortune of the party in their proceedings against the enemy. These hieroglyphics are rudely drawn; but are sufficiently significant to convey the requisite intelligence to another division of the party that may succeed them. On this rude chart, the combatants are generally represented by straight lines, each surmounted by a head-like termination, and are readily distinguishable from each other; the arms and legs are also represented, when necessary to record the performance of some particular act, or to exhibit a wound. Wounds are indicated by the representation of the dropping of blood from the part; an arrow wound, by adding a line for the arrow, from which the Indian is able to estimate, with some accuracy, its direction, and the depth to which it entered. The killed are represented by prostrate lines: equestrians are also particularized; and if wounded or killed, they are seen to spout blood, or to be in the act of falling from their horses. Prisoners are denoted by their being led, and the number of captured horses is made known by the number of lunules representing their tracks. The number of guns taken may be ascertained by bent lines, on the angle of which is represented something like the prominences of the lock. Women are portrayed by short petticoats, and pro-

minent breasts, and unmarried females by short queues at the ears.

“A war-party, on its return, generally halts upon some elevated ground, within sight of the village; and if they have been successful, they sit down and smoke their pipes. The villagers, on discovering them, rush out to meet them, and receive a brief relation of the events that have occurred during the expedition.

“All then return to the village, exhibiting by the way the greatest demonstrations of joy, by discharging their guns, singing war-songs, &c. The scalps, stretched upon hoops and dried, are carried upon rods five or six feet in length.

“Arrived at the village, some of the squaws, wives to the warriors of the party, assume the dress of their husbands, and, with the rods bearing the scalps in their hands, dance around a large post, coloured with vermillion, and, in concert with the young warriors, sing the war and scalp songs; the young warriors occasionally step into the ring of the dancers, and all keep time, with dance and song, to the loud beat of the gong. Into this dance are also admitted the relatives of the war-party.

“This barbarous dance appears to delight them, and particularly the squaws, who are the principal actors, more than almost any other of their enjoyments.

“Indeed, it is to the squaws that many of these exertions are attributable, as those whose husbands have not been successful in war, frequently murmur, saying, ‘You have had me for a wife a long time, and have never yet gratified me with the scalp-dance.’

“Those squaws, whose husbands or relatives

have been killed during the excursion of the party, take no part in this blissful dance, but rub themselves with clay, and lament.

“This dance is repeated every night for two or three weeks, after which it is renewed, occasionally, for a twelvemonth. The scalps are often cut into slips, that many of the dancers may be accommodated with them; but this was never done with an intention to deceive, respecting the actual number of the enemy killed. After the termination of this ceremony, the scalps are either thrown away, or are used to decorate the leggings of the warrior, or to suspend from his medicine bag, or from the bridle of his horse.

“Soon after the return of the party, the principal warriors are invited to feasts, by different villagers, where they recount the events that have transpired during their absence. They narrate the mode of approaching the enemy, the onset, the battle, all the little particulars of which are detailed; but they seem to dwell with particular pleasure on the conduct of individuals of the enemy, as it appeared immediately before they received the death-blow; if there was any movement of the body, or emotion exhibited on the countenance of the victim, that betrayed a want of firmness, or fear of death, at this awful juncture, the account excites much laughter in the audience. If the disabled individual was so imbecile as to shrink from a blow of the tomahawk or war-club, he is ridiculed as a coward. If he is said to have cried for quarters, or begged for mercy, or to have held up the palm of his hand towards the victor to appease his vengeance, the account is received with ridicule and laughter, at the expense of the deceased. If, on the contrary, he is said to have perished with that

stoicism and contempt of death, which is regarded as worthy of the Indian warrior, the auditors, although they may smile with pleasure at the death of an enemy, yet pay due honour to his name, saying, he was a brave fellow ; and they do not fail to applaud the bravery of his victor also.

“ All those of the party who have first struck a body, or taken a prisoner, paint themselves black, and if any strangers are in the village, they put on their crow, and appear before them, or near them, and sing their war-song, in which their exploits are detailed.

“ The prisoners are differently treated, according to their sex, age, and qualifications. Of the squaws, they make slaves, or rather servants, though these are sometimes advantageously married. To the young men, the task of tending the horses is commonly assigned ; but the children are generally adopted into their families, and are treated, in every respect, as their own offspring : when arrived at maturity, they are identified with the nation, and it would be an insult to apply the name of their own countrymen to them.”*

“ When they have made a military expedition which has succeeded, the warriors order their march so that they never arrive at the village till night. As soon as they are near it, they halt, and when it is night, they depute two or three young people to the chief, to acquaint him with the principal adventures of the campaign. Next day, at the appearance of dawn, they dress their prisoners in new robes, adorn their hair with down, paint their faces with various colours, and put a white stick in their hands, which is set round with the tails of roebucks. At

* Long, Vol. I. p. 292—299.

the same time, the war-chief makes a cry, and all the village assembles at the water side, if they are near a river.

“As soon as the warriors appear, four young men, in their finest dress, of whom the two first carry a calumet, set out to fetch the prisoners, whom they bring, in triumph, to the cabin where they are to be sentenced. The master of the cabin, to whom it belongs to decide their fate, first gives them something to eat, and during this meal he holds a council. If they give his life to any one, two young men go and untie him, take him each by one hand, and make him run full speed to the river, where they throw him in head foremost. They throw themselves in after him, wash him well, and lead him to the person whose slave he is to be.

“As to those who are condemned to die, as soon as the sentence is pronounced, the cry is made to assemble the village ; and the execution is deferred only just time enough to make the preparations for it. They begin by stripping the sufferer quite naked : they fix in the earth two posts, to which they fasten two cross pieces, one about two feet from the ground, and the other six or seven feet higher, and this is what they call a frame. They make the sufferer get upon the first cross piece, to which they fasten his feet, at a little distance from each other : then they tie his hands to the upper angle of the frame ; and in this posture they burn him, in all parts of the body.

“All the village, men, women, and children, gather round him ; and every one has a right to torture him, as they please. If no one present has any particular reason to prolong his sufferings, his punishment is soon over : and commonly they des-

patch him with their arrows, or else they cover him with the bark of trees, which they set on fire. Then they leave him in his frame, and towards night, they run through all the cabins, striking with little sticks on the furniture, on the walls, and on the roofs, to hinder his soul from staying there to revenge the injuries which they have done to his body. The rest of the night is passed in rejoicings.

“If the party has met no enemy, or if it has been obliged to fly, it enters the village by day, keeping a profound silence; but, if it has been beaten, it enters by night, after having given notice of their return, by a cry of death, and named all those that they have lost, either by distemper or by the sword of the enemy. Sometimes the prisoners are condemned, and executed, before they arrive at the village; especially when they have reason to fear that they will be rescued. Some time since, a Frenchman being taken by the Outagamis, these barbarians held a council on their route, to know how they should dispose of him. The result of the deliberation was, to throw a stick up in a tree, and if it lodged there, to burn their prisoner; but to throw it only a certain number of times. By good fortune for the prisoner, though the tree was very thick of branches, the stick always fell to the ground.”*

“Their constancy in suffering pain, is beyond all expression. A young woman shall be a whole day in labour, without making one cry: if she showed the least weakness, they would esteem her unworthy to be a mother; because, as they say, she could only breed cowards. Nothing is more

* Charlevoix 282,3.

common, than to see persons of all ages, and of both sexes, suffer for many hours, and sometimes many days together, the sharpest effects of fire, and all that the most industrious fury can invent, to make it most painful, without letting a sigh escape. They are employed for the most part, during their sufferings, in encouraging their tormentors by the most insulting reproaches.

“An Outagami, who was burnt by the Illinois with the utmost cruelty, perceiving a Frenchman among the spectators; begged of him, that he would help his enemies to torment him; and upon his asking why he made this request, he replied, ‘Because I should have the comfort of dying by the hands of a man. My greatest grief, (adds he,) is, that I never killed a man.’ ‘But,’ (said an Illinois) ‘you have killed such and such a person.’ As for the Illinois’ (replied the prisoner,) ‘I have killed enough of them, but they are no men.’

The following story is related by Charlevoix, which could hardly be credited, were it not attested by eye-witnesses worthy of credit.

“An Iroquois, captain of the Canton of Onneyouth, chose rather to expose himself to every thing, than to disgrace himself by a flight, which he judged of dangerous consequence to the young people that were under his command. He fought a long time like a man who was resolved to die with arms in his hands; but the Hurons who opposed him, were resolved to take him alive, and he was taken. Happily for him, and for those who were taken with him, they were carried to a village where some Missionaries resided, who were allowed full liberty of discoursing with them. These Fathers found them of a docility which they looked upon as the beginning of the grace of their con-

version ; they instructed them, and baptized them : They were all burnt a few days after, and showed even till death a resolution, with which the savages are not yet acquainted, and which even the infidels attributed to the virtue of the sacraments. The Onneyouth captain nevertheless believed that he was still allowed to do his enemies all the mischief he could, and to put off his death as much as possible. They made him get upon a sort of stage, where they began to burn him all over the body without any mercy, and he appeared at first as unconcerned as if he had felt nothing ; but as he thought one of his companions that was tormented near him, showed some marks of weakness, he showed on this account a great uneasiness, and omitted nothing that might encourage him to suffer with patience, by the hope of the happiness they were going to enjoy in Heaven ; and he had the comfort to see him die like a brave man and a Christian.

“Then all those who had put the other to death, fell again upon him with so much fury, that one would have thought they were going to tear him to pieces. He did not appear to be at all moved at it, and they knew not any longer in what part they could make him feel pain ; when one of his tormentors cut the skin of his head all round and pulled it off with great violence. The pain made him drop down senseless : they thought him dead, and all the people went away : a little time after, he recovered from his swoon ; and seeing no person near him, but the dead body of his companion, he takes a firebrand in both his hands, though they were all over flayed and burnt, recalls his tormentors, and defies them to approach him. They were affrighted at his resolution, they sent forth horrid

cries, and armed themselves, some with burning fire-brands, others with red-hot irons, and fell upon him altogether. He received them bravely, and made them retreat. The fire with which he was surrounded served him for an entrenchment, and he made another with the ladders that had been used to get upon the scaffold; and being thus fortified in his own funeral pile, now become the theatre of his valour, and armed with the instruments of his punishment, he was for some time the terror of a whole village, nobody daring to approach a man that was more than half burnt, and whose blood flowed from all parts of his body.

“A false step which he made in striving to shun a fire-brand that was thrown at him, left him once more to the mercy of his tormentors. And I need not tell you that they made him pay dear for the fright he had just before put them in. After they were tired with tormenting him, they threw him into the midst of a great fire, and left him there, thinking it impossible for him ever to rise up again. They were deceived. When they least thought of it, they saw him, armed with fire-brands, run towards the village, as if he would set it on fire. All the people were struck with terror, and no person had the courage to stop him. But as he came near the first cabin, a stick that was thrown between his legs, threw him down, and they fell upon him before he could rise. They directly cut off his hands and feet, and then rolled him upon some burning coals, and lastly, they threw him under the trunk of a tree that was burning. Then all the village came round him, to enjoy the pleasure of seeing him burn. The blood which flowed from him, almost extinguished the fire; and they were no longer afraid of his ef-

forts. But yet he made one more, which astonished the boldest. He crawled out upon his elbows and knees with a threatening look and a stoutness that drove away the nearest ; more, indeed, from astonishment than fear ; for what harm could he do them in this maimed condition ? Some time after an Huron took him at an advantage, and cut off his head."*

In their military operations, the Indians rely essentially on surprise, ambuscade, and stratagem. But they are by no means defective in courage, and have, on some occasions, exhibited a valour perfectly heroic. Proofs of both these assertions shall be adduced.

With respect to the first, I may add, that they resort, without hesitation, to schemes of the darkest perfidy for the accomplishment of their purposes.

"In the year 1763, Detroit, containing a British garrison of three hundred men, commanded by Major Gladwyn, was besieged by a confederacy of Indian tribes under Pontiac, an Ottoway chief, who displayed such a boldness in his designs, such skill in negotiation, and such personal courage in war, as to justify us in considering him one of the greatest men who have ever appeared among the Indian tribes of North America. He was the decided and constant enemy of the British Government, and excelled all his contemporaries in both mental and bodily vigour. His conspiracy for making himself master of the town of Detroit, and destroying the garrison, although frustrated, is a master-piece among Indian stratagems ; and his victory over the British troops at the battle of Bloody

* Charlevoix, p. 166.

Bridge, stands unparalleled in the history of Indian wars, for the decision and steady courage by which it was, in an open fight, achieved.

“As, at the time above mentioned, every appearance of war was at an end, and the Indians seemed to be on a friendly footing, Pontiac approached Detroit, without exciting any suspicions in the breast of the Governor, or the inhabitants. He encamped at a little distance from it, and sent to let the commandant know that he was come to trade ; and being desirous of brightening the chain of peace between the English and his nation, desired that he and his chiefs might be admitted to hold a council with him. The Governor, still unsuspecting, and not in the least doubting the sincerity of the Indians, granted their general’s request, and fixed on the next morning for their reception.

“On the evening of that day, an Indian woman who had been employed by Major Gladwyn to make him a pair of Indian shoes, out of a curious elk-skin, brought them home. The Major was so pleased with them, that, intending these as a present for a friend, he ordered her to take the remainder back, and make it into others for himself. He then directed his servant to pay her for those she had done, and dismissed her. The woman went to the door that led to the street, but no further ; she there loitered about as if she had not finished the business on which she came. A servant at length observed her, and asked her why she staid there ? she gave him, however, no answer.

“Some short time after, the Governor himself saw her, and inquired of his servant what occasioned her stay. Not being able to get a satisfactory answer, he ordered the woman to be called in. When

she came into his presence, he desired to know what was the reason of her loitering about, and not hastening home before the gates were shut, that she might complete in due time the work he had given her to do. She told him, after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with great goodness towards her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it ; and yet had not been able to prevail upon herself to tell him so. He then asked her why she was more reluctant to do so now than she had been when she made the former pair. With increased reluctance, she answered, that she should never be able to bring them back.

“ His curiosity being now excited, he insisted on her disclosing the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice, and that if it appeared to be beneficial she should be rewarded for it, she informed him, that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him ; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. That for this purpose, all the chiefs who were to be admitted into the council room had cut their guns short, so that they could conceal them under their blankets ; with which, on a signal given by their general, on delivering the belt, they were all to rise up, and instantly to fire on him and his attendants. Having effected this, they were immediately to rush into the town, where they would find themselves supported by a great number of their warriors, that were to come into it during the sitting of the council under pretence of trading, but privately armed in the same manner. Having

gained from the woman every necessary particular relative to the plot, and also the means by which she acquired a knowledge of them, he dismissed her with injunctions of secrecy, and a promise of fulfilling on his part with punctuality the engagements he had entered into.

“The intelligence the governor had just received gave him great uneasiness: and he immediately consulted the officer who was next him in command on the subject. But that gentleman, considering the information as a story invented for some artful purpose, advised him to pay no attention to it. This conclusion, however, had happily, no weight with him. He thought it prudent to conclude it to be true, till he was convinced that it was not so; and therefore, without revealing his suspicions to any other person, he took every needful precaution that the time would admit of. He walked round the fort the whole night, and saw himself, that every sentinel was upon duty, and every weapon of defence in proper order.

“As he traversed the ramparts which lay nearest to the Indian camp, he heard them in high festivity, and, little imagining that their plot was discovered, probably pleasing themselves with the anticipation of their success. As soon as the morning dawned, he ordered all the garrison under arms, and then imparting his apprehension to a few of the principal officers, gave them such directions as he thought necessary. At the same time he sent round to all the traders, to inform them, that as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he desired they would have their arms ready, and repel any attempt of that kind.

“About ten o'clock, Pontiac and his chiefs ar-

rived, and were conducted to the council chamber, where the governor and his principal officers, each with pistols in his belt, awaited his arrival. As the Indians passed on, they could not help observing that a greater number of troops than usual were drawn up on the parade, or marching about. No sooner were they entered and seated on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the governor, on what occasion his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up and parading the streets? He received for answer, that it was only intended to keep them perfect in their exercise.

“The Indian chief-warrior now began his speech, which contained the strongest professions of friendship and good will, towards the English: and when he came to the delivery of the belt of wampum, the particular mode of which, according to the woman’s information, was to be the signal for the chiefs to fire, the governor and all his attendants drew their swords half way out of their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same instant made a clattering with their arms before the doors, which had been purposely left open. Pontiac, though one of the boldest of men, immediately turned pale and trembled; and instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way. His chiefs, who had impatiently expected the signal, looked at each other with astonishment, but continued quiet, waiting the result.

“The governor, in his turn, made a speech; but instead of thanking the great warrior for the professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told him that the English, who knew every thing, were convinced of his treachery and villainous designs; and as a proof that they were well acquainted with his most secret

thoughts and intentions, he stepped towards an Indian chief that sat nearest to him, and, drawing aside the blanket, discovered the shortened fire-lock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

“He then continued to tell them, that as he had given his word at the time they desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he desired them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces.

“Pontiac endeavoured to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the governor, satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him. The Indians immediately left the fort; but instead of being sensible of the governor’s generous behaviour, they threw off the mask, and the next day made a regular attack upon it.”

Major Gladwyn has not escaped censure for this mistaken lenity: for probably had he kept a few of the principal chiefs prisoners, whilst he had them in his power, he might have been able to have brought the whole confederacy to terms, and prevented a war. But he atoned for this oversight, by the gallant defence he made for more than a year, amidst a variety of discouragements.

“During that period some very smart skirmishes happened between the besiegers and the garrison, of which the following was the principal and the most bloody. Captain Delzel, a brave officer, prevailed on the governor to give him the command of about two hundred men, and to permit him to attack the enemy’s camp. This being complied with,

he sallied from the town before daybreak ; but Pontiac, receiving from some of his swift-footed warriors, who were constantly employed in watching the motions of the garrison, timely intelligence of their design, collected the choicest of his troops, and met the detachment at some distance from his camp, near a place since called Bloody-bridge.

“ As the Indians were vastly superior in number to Captain Delzel’s party, he was soon overpowered and driven back. Being now nearly surrounded, he made a vigorous effort to regain the bridge he had just crossed, by which alone he could find a retreat : but in doing this he lost his life, and many of his men fell with him. However, Major Rogers, the second in command, assisted by Lieutenant Braham, found means to draw off the shattered remains of their little army, and conducted them into the fort.

“ Then considerably reduced, it was with difficulty the Major could defend the town ; notwithstanding which, he held out against the Indians till he was relieved ; as after this they made but few attacks upon the place, and only continued to blockade it.

“ The Gladwin schooner arrived about this time, near the town, with a reinforcement and necessary supplies. But before this vessel could reach the place of its destination, it was most vigorously attacked by a detachment from Pontiac’s army. The Indians surrounded it in their canoes, and made great havoc among the crew.

“ At length, the captain of the schooner, with a considerable number of his crew being killed, and the savages beginning to climb up the sides from every quarter, the Lieutenant being determined that the stores should not fall into the enemy’s hands,

and seeing no alternative, ordered the gunner to set fire to the powder-room and blow the ship up. This order was on the point of being executed, when a chief of the Hurons, who understood the English language, gave out to his friends the intention of the commander. On receiving this intelligence, the Indians hurried down the sides of the ship with the greatest precipitation, and got as far from it as possible; while the commander immediately took advantage of their consternation, and arrived without any further obstruction at the town.

“This seasonable supply gave the garrison fresh spirits: and Pontiac, being now convinced that it would not be in his power to reduce the place, proposed an accommodation. The governor, wishing much to get rid of such troublesome enemies, listened to his proposals, and having procured advantageous terms, agreed to a peace.”*

The massacre of the garrison of Michilimackinac, which occurred also in the year 1763, while it exhibits one of the most shocking instances of Indian barbarity, is at the same time a striking proof of the sagacity and dissimulation of the Indian character. It appears from the very interesting account given of this transaction by Henry, who was an eye-witness, “That the Indians were in the habit of playing at a game called Bag-gat-iway, which is played with a ball and bat on the principles of our foot ball, and decided by one of the party’s heaving the ball beyond the goal of their adversaries. The King’s birth-day, the 4th of June, having arrived, the Sacs and Chippeways who were encamped in great numbers around the fort, turned out upon the green, to play at this game for a high wager, and attracted a

* I have extracted this narrative of Pontiac’s attempt on Detroit, from Mr. Schoolcraft, who takes it from Carver’s Travels.

number of the garrison and traders to witness the sport. The game of bag-gat-iway is necessarily attended with much violence and noise. In the ardour of contest, the ball, if it cannot be thrown to the goal desired, is struck in any direction by which it can be diverted from that designed by the adversary. At such a moment, therefore, nothing could be less liable to excite premature alarm, than that the ball should be tossed over the pickets of the fort, nor, that having fallen there, it should be followed on the instant by all engaged in the game, as well the one party as the other, all eager—all struggling—all shouting, in the unrestrained pursuit of a rude athletic exercise : nothing therefore could be more happily devised, under the circumstances, than a stratagem like this ; and it was in fact the stratagem which the Indians employed to obtain possession of the fort, and by which they were enabled to slaughter and subdue its garrison, and such of the other inhabitants as they pleased. To be still more certain of success, they had prevailed on as many as they could, by a pretext the least liable to suspicion, to come voluntarily without the pickets ; and particularly the commandant and garrison themselves. The Indians after butchering the garrison burnt down the Fort.”

The late Col. John Stuart, of Greenbriar, a gentleman of high character, not long before his death wrote a narrative of the most remarkable events which occurred in the county of his residence, and in its vicinity, while the inhabitants were engaged in war with the Indians. Some of the incidents related by him are remarkable, and shall be given in substance from his manuscript, a copy of which is in my possession.

In the year 1765, eighty Indians or upwards, with

the profession and under the guise of friendship, entered the settlement of Muddy Creek, in the County of Greenbriar, (Virginia.) They were most hospitably received and entertained; but suddenly rose upon the unsuspecting inhabitants, massacred all the men, and made prisoners of the women and children. Not yet satiated with blood, they proceeded into "The Levels," where some families, to the number of sixty persons, had assembled at the house of Archibald Clendennen. Here too they were kindly received and generously regaled on three fat elks, which Clendennen had recently brought from the woods. But, after eating plentifully, they put to death every man of the whites, reserving the women and children for the sufferings of captivity. Scenes of heart-chilling barbarity were exhibited. A negro woman, while the Indians were occupied in deeds of murder at Clendennen's house, was with her child at the spring. Apprehensive that the infant, by its burden or its cries, might impede or betray her flight, she unhesitatingly deprived the little being of life!

Mrs. Clendennen, with more than female courage, reproached the savages for their cruelty, cowardice, and ingratitude, while their tomahawks were brandished over her head, and the wreaking scalp of her husband was thrown into her face. But this fearless mother was almost as destitute of maternal affection as her slave. On the day after her capture, when the Indians were marching off with their prisoners, she prevailed on another person to take charge of her infant, while she glided unperceived, into a contiguous thicket, and succeeded in effecting her escape, regardless of the fate of her child. Its cries soon indicated to the savages that its mother had left it, and one of them said, "he would

soon bring the cow to the calf." He seized it by the heels and dashed out its brains against a tree ! If the treachery and barbarism of the savages excite our horror, we may add, that another occasion has scarcely arisen, on which maternal tenderness, one of the most powerful affections of the human heart, was so completely subdued.

While quoting from Col. Stuart's manuscript, I will transcribe his relation of the circumstances which attended the murder of four Indians, one of whom was Cornstalk, a Shawanese Chief, then the idol of his nation. It exhibits the character of those who perpetrated that execrable deed, in most offensive colours.

A Captain Arbuckle commanded the garrison of the fort erected at Point Pleasant after the battle fought by General Lewis with the Indians at that place, in October, 1774. In the succeeding year, when the revolutionary war had commenced, the agents of Great Britain exerted themselves to excite the Indians to hostility against the United States. The mass of the Shawanese entertained a strong animosity against the Americans. But, two of their chiefs, Cornstalk, and Red-hawk, not participating in that animosity, visited the garrison at the Point, where Arbuckle continued to command. Colonel Stuart was at the post in character of a volunteer, and was an eye-witness of the facts which he relates. Cornstalk represented his unwillingness to take a part in the war, on the British side: but stated, that his nation, except himself and his tribe, were determined on war with us, and he supposed, that he and his people would be compelled to go with the stream. On this intimation Arbuckle resolved to detain the two chiefs, and a third Shawanese who came with them to the fort, as hostages, under the

expectation of preventing thereby any hostile efforts of the nation. On the day before these unfortunate Indians fell victims to the fury of the garrison, Elenipsico, the son of Cornstalk, repaired to Point Pleasant for the purpose of visiting his father, and on the next day, two men belonging to the garrison, whose names were Hamilton and Gillmore, crossed the Kanhawa, intending to hunt in the woods beyond it. On their return from hunting, some Indians who had come to view the position at the Point, concealed themselves in the weeds near the mouth of the Kanhawa, and killed Gillmore while attempting to pass them. Colonel Stuart and Captain Arbuckle were standing on the opposite bank of the river at that time, and were surprised that a gun had been fired so near the fort, in violation of orders which had been issued inhibiting such an act. Hamilton ran down the bank, and cried out that Gillmore was killed. Captain Hall commanded the company to which Gillmore belonged. His men leaped into a canoe, and hastened to the relief of Hamilton. They brought the body of Gillmore weltering in blood, and the head scalped, across the river. The canoe had scarcely reached the shore, when Hall's men cried out "let us kill the Indians in the fort." Captain Hall placed himself in front of his soldiers, and they ascended the river's bank, pale with rage, and carrying their loaded firelocks in their hands. Colonel Stuart and Captain Arbuckle exerted themselves in vain, to dissuade these men, exasperated to madness by the spectacle of Gillmore's corpse, from the cruel deed which they contemplated. They cocked their guns, threatening those gentlemen with instant death, if they did not desist, and rushed into the fort.

The interpreter's wife, who had been a captive

among the Indians, and felt an affection for them, ran to their cabin and informed them that Hall's soldiers were advancing, with the intention of taking their lives, because they believed, that the Indians who killed Gillmore, had come with Cornstalk's son on the preceding day. This the young man solemnly denied, and averred that he knew nothing of them. His father, perceiving that Elenipsico was in great agitation, encouraged him and advised him not to fear. "If the great Spirit, said he, has sent you here to be killed, you ought to die like a man!" As the soldiers approached the door, Cornstalk rose to meet them, and received seven or eight balls which instantly terminated his existence. His son was shot dead, in the seat which he occupied. The Red-hawk made an attempt to climb the chimney, but fell by the fire of some of Hall's men. The other Indian, says Colonel Stuart, "was shamefully mangled, and I grieved to see him so long dying."

I know nothing of the individual history of Cornstalk. General Andrew Lewis, who commanded the troops that fought the celebrated battle of Point Pleasant, was so distinguished a character, as to be placed by many who knew him well, in competition with our immortal Washington, for the chief command of the American army, at the commencement of the war of independence. His early death withdrew him from such competition, if it was ever seriously meditated. I have been informed by his descendants, that he knew Cornstalk well, and entertained a high admiration of his talents. The person and manners of the Shawanese chief are said to have been eminently dignified, and his character was elevated, in the estimation of the whites.

as well as that of his own people. Colonel Stuart speaks of him as a great warrior and a hero.

To the murder of such a man, under such circumstances, we may rationally impute that implacable, deadly hatred which his nation has ever since evinced to the Americans.

I now offer some proofs of heroic Indian valour.

Long's journal recites the circumstances of a severe battle fought by ninety-three Pawnee Loup warriors, against a large body of Ietans, Arrapahoes, and Kiawas.

“The party was led by the most distinguished brave of the village, and half brother of the Metiff chief,* but of unmixed blood, and a principal supporter of the influence of that chief. The party, who were all on foot, were on their way to capture horses: but they were badly armed for a contest, and had but twelve guns among them. They were proceeding cautiously along in the prairies between the head waters of the Arkansa, and the Riodel Norte, when one party of their runners, or discoverers, came in with information, that a great body of the enemy were in front, and had not seen them. Another party of runners soon came in with the same information. The whole now halted to wait for night, to capture horses, and busied themselves in preparing their ropes and halters, and in putting themselves in the best order in case of an attack. One of the party ascended a small eminence, and perceived three of the enemy, mounted, and coming on in full career; presently more appeared, and soon after they began to show themselves in every quarter. It was now evident to the party, that the enemy were the first discoverers, and that they were now necessitated to contend against a vastly superior

* Metiff is half-breed.

force, better armed than themselves, and possessing also the advantage of being all mounted on good horses. It was obvious, also, that there was no hope for them, but in the display of desperate valour. Their first wish had been to gain a creek, at some distance in the rear, which was margined with small timber; but, as their enemy now completely surrounded them, this was impossible. The battle commenced about ten o'clock, A. M. and soon raged with great fury. Every muscle was called into action by our little band, who hung firmly together, discharging their arrows, and occasionally a fusee, with the steadiest aim. The dead and wounded were falling in every direction, in both parties. The enemy were so numerous, that numbers of their braves, armed only with a shield, having rejected their offensive weapons, hovered in front of their companions intent only upon the acquisition of the renown dearest to the heart of the warrior, that of first striking* the body of a fallen enemy: many of them were, however, killed, even by their own people, as they rushed along, and intercepted the flight of the arrow, or bullet, from its destined mark. The combatants were at very close quarters, and the arrow had its full effect. They were for some time intermingled, and contended with their war clubs, and knives. The partizan, who had been wounded

* When the Indians are engaged in battle, it is a custom for each individual, when he fires, to call out his name. Long's Journal, vol. 1st, page 186.

By the same authority, vol. 2d, page 371, we are informed, "that their reluctance to forgive an injury, is proverbial. Injuries are revenged by the injured, and blood for blood is always demanded, if the deceased has friends who dare to retaliate on the destroyer. Instances have occurred where their revenge has become hereditary, and quarrels have been settled long after the parties, immediately concerned, have become extinct."

severely, early in the action, and had received several more wounds, during its continuance, now was struck by an arrow, which buried itself to the feathers, in his body. He knew the wound was a mortal one, and fell, but supported himself on the ground, to encourage his men; 'my braves,' said he, 'fight whilst you can move a limb, and, when your arrows are expended, take to your knives.' Looking around now upon his companions in arms, he perceived that nearly all his principal braves were killed, or disabled, and, with his dying words, he ordered those who were still on their feet to pierce the surrounding enemy, and endeavour to save themselves in the timber of the creek. As soon as it was ascertained that their partizan was dead, his orders were carried into effect, and the remnant of the party fought their way to the creek, where the enemy abandoned them, and returned to exult over the slain. One only of the principal braves was left in this shattered band; he declared he was ashamed that he had survived, and he immediately ran back to the enemy, although much wounded, and was seen no more. The party now found that they had left fifty-three men dead, or disabled, on the battle ground, among whom were all their braves, who had exposed themselves to danger more than the others. Of their number, now diminished to forty, all were wounded, with the exception of seven only, and some of these very desperately; one individual had eight different wounds. As they had thrown off their robes, breechcloths, and leggings, at the commencement of the battle, they were now absolutely naked, and the weather was extremely cold. They made rude cars, on which they drew along those who could not walk, and thus commenced, and proceeded in their

slow and laborious march to their village. During the journey, some of the wounded requested to be killed, or left to die alone ; and one, who was wounded in the knee, after soliciting death from his brother repeatedly, in vain, sought an opportunity to die, and finally plunged his knife in his heart. The party subsisted by killing a few buffaloes on the way, and partially clothed themselves with their raw hides : a miserable defence against the intensity of the cold.”*

The following extract from Mr. Schoolcraft's interesting journal, exhibits another instance of most daring resolution, on the part of a small band of Indians. “The Chippeways of Grand Island had been reproached by the Northern bands of that tribe for not taking a more active part in the war which has been so long waged between them and the Sioux. To wipe off this stain, they determined to make an irruption into the Sioux country, without giving notice to any other part of the tribe, that they might claim the exclusive merits of their warlike deeds. Accordingly, a party of thirteen warriors proceeded, by the most unfrequented paths, into the midst of the Sioux territories, without meeting with any opposition, or exciting any premature alarm. Here, however, at a time when they did not expect it, they suddenly encountered a large war party of their enemies, amounting to ten times their number. As a negotiation of peace had commenced between the two tribes, the Sioux were disposed to receive them as friends, and were very much surprised to hear them declare that they had left their homes on a war excursion—that they had come a great way to meet them—that they wanted

* Long's Journal, vol. I. p. 362.

to test their courage—and that they rejoiced there was now an opportunity presented. The Sioux replied, that they thought the Chippeways were tired of a long war, in which so much blood had been spilt—that they were too few in number to hope for any success, and had better retire in peace, to their own territories, as their destruction was otherwise inevitable. The Chippeways were, however, determined in their hostility, and had prepared themselves to die, and to sell their lives at the dearest rate, and the next morning attacked the Sioux in their camp. In a short time they were driven back to the place where they had determined to make a final stand, and which they had previously fortified by digging two large holes, or intrenchments, in the ground, capable of affording them a partial shelter. Into these intrenchments they retired and maintained the unequal contest, until they had expended their ammunition, and killed more than double their number, when the Sioux surrounded their intrenchments and despatched the survivors with their tomahawks. Of the number that retired into these holes, not one escaped, but they kept up a destructive fire upon their enemies while their ammunition lasted, for they were protected during the time they retired to reload their guns. To transmit the fame of this exploit to their nation, they had appointed the youngest warrior of their number to watch on an adjoining hill, and, when their fate was terminated, to carry the news to their friends. By this, it seems that they had previously determined to die in their intrenchments. This messenger had not been long returned when we reached Grand Island, where he sung the exploits of his departed friends. He was a tall and beautiful youth, with a manly

countenance, expressive eyes, and formed with the most perfect symmetry; and among all the tribes of Indians whom I have visited, I never felt for any individual, such a mingled feeling of interest and admiration.”*

Major Long's Journal presents an instance of magnanimous self-devotion, which, to repeat its language, “would have immortalized a Roman warrior.”

“Two Omawhaw brothers had stolen a squaw from an individual of their nation, and were on their journey to seek a refuge in the Puneaw village. But they had the misfortune, in a large prairie, to meet with a party of Sioux, their implacable enemies.

“They immediately concealed themselves in a deep ravine, which, at bottom, was covered with dry reed grass. The Sioux surrounded this spot, and set fire to the windward side of the reeds, in order to drive them out. When the conflagration had nearly reached the fugitives, one of them remarked, that the Wahconda had certainly not created him to be smoked out like a rackoon; (the Indians smoke this animal out of hollow trees by kindling a fire at the root;) he urged his brother to attempt his escape in one direction, whilst he would attract the attention of the enemy, by sallying out upon them alone, and endeavouring to destroy as many of them as possible, in anticipated revenge for that death which he considered as inevitable; ‘one or both of us,’ said he, ‘must certainly be sacrificed, save yourself if you can; I will be the victim, and may fortunately receive a death blow in the conflict, and thus escape the disgrace of captivity.’ He

* Schoolcraft's Journal, page 155.

then rushed forth among the Sioux, shot one, and with his knife wounded several, before he was despatched. His brother, availing himself of the abstracted attention of the enemy, effected his escape; but the squaw was burned to death.”*

Charlevoix says, “in their treaties for peace, and, generally, in all their negotiations, they discover a dexterity, and a nobleness of sentiments, which would do honour to the most polished nations.”† A specimen of the mode of negotiating peace among the Missouri Indians, which I shall extract from Major Long’s Journal, will, in a considerable degree, sustain the foregoing remark of Charlevoix: it will also convey an idea of the formalities observed on that occasion, with greater accuracy, than any general observations.

“During the stay of our detached party at the Konza village, several chief men of the nation requested Mr. Dougherty to lead a deputation from them, to their enemies the Otoes, Missouris, and Ioways, then dwelling in one village, on the Platte. Circumstances then prevented the gratification of their wishes, but he gave them to understand, that if the deputation should meet our party near Council Bluff, he would probably then be authorized to bear them company: on which they determined to send a party thither. Accordingly, on the day preceding the arrival of our steam-boat at the position chosen for our winter cantonment, a deputation from the Konzas arrived for that purpose. It consisted of six men, led by He-roch-che, or the Real War Eagle, one of the principal warriors of the Konza nation.

“Mr. Dougherty having made their pacific mis-

* Long’s Journal, vol. 1. p. 255.

† Charlevoix, p. 167.

sion known to Major O'Fallon, the latter expressed to them his cordial approbation of their intentions, and the following day he despatched Mr. Dougherty with them, to protect them by his presence, on their approach to the enemy, and to assist them by his mediation, in their negotiations, should it be found necessary.

“The distance to the Oto village is about twenty-five miles; on the journey over the prairies, they espied an object at a distance, which was mistaken for a man, standing upon an eminence. The Indians immediately halted, when Herochche addressed them, with the assurance that they must put their trust in the Master of Life, and in their leaders; and observed that, having journeyed thus far on their business, they must not return until their purpose was accomplished; that if it was their lot to die, no event could save them; ‘we have set out, my braves,’ said he, ‘to eat of the Otoes, victuals, and we must do so or die;’ the party then proceeded onward. The Indians are always very cautious when approaching an enemy’s village, on any occasion, and this party well knew that their enterprise was full of danger.

“In a short time they were again brought to a halt, by the appearance of a considerable number of men and horses, that were advancing towards them. After some consultation and reconnoitering, they sat down upon the ground, and lighting the peace pipe, or calumet, Herochche directed the stem of it towards the objects of their suspicion, saying, ‘smoke friend, or foe,’ he then directed it towards the Oto village, towards the white people, towards heaven, and the earth, successively.

“The strangers, however, proved to be drovers,

with cattle for the troops, on their way to Council Bluff.

“In consequence of being thus detained, it was late in the afternoon when the party arrived at the Platte river, and as they had still eight miles to travel, and it was indispensable to their safety that they should reach the village before dark, Mr. Dougherty urged his horse rapidly forwards. The Indians, who were all on foot, ran the whole distance, halting but twice, in order to cross the Elk Horn and Platte rivers, although one of them was upwards of sixty years of age, and three of the others were much advanced in years.

“As they drew near the Oto village, they were discovered by some boys who were collecting their horses together for the night, and who, in a telegraphic manner, communicated intelligence of their approach to the people of the village, by throwing their robes into the air.

“The party was soon surrounded by the inhabitants, who rushed towards them, riding and running, with the greatest impetuosity. The greatest confusion reigned for some time, the Otoes shouting, hallooing, and screaming, whilst their Konza visitors lamented aloud. Shaumonekusse soon arrived, and restored a degree of order, when, the business of the mission being made known in a few words, the Konzas were taken up, behind some of the horsemen, and conveyed, as rapidly as possible, to the lodge of Shongotongo, lest personal violence should be offered them on the way. They did not, however, escape the audible maledictions of the squaws, as they passed, but were stigmatized as wrinkled-faced old men, with hairy chins, and ugly faces, and flat noses.

“After running this species of gauntlet, they were quietly seated in the lodge, where they were sure of protection. A squaw, however, whose husband had been recently killed by the Konzas, rushed into the lodge, with the intention of seeking vengeance by killing one of the ambassadors on the spot. She stood suddenly before Herochche, and seemed a very demon of fury. She caught his eye, and at the instant, with all her strength, she aimed a blow at his breast with a large knife, which was firmly grasped in her right hand, and which she seemed confident of sheathing in his heart. At that truly hopeless moment, the countenance of the warrior remained unchanged, and even exhibited no emotion whatever; and when the knife approached its destination, with the swiftness of lightning, his eye stood firm, nor were its lids seen to quiver; so far from recoiling, or raising his arm to avert the blow, that he even rather protruded his breast to meet that death which seemed inevitable, and which was only averted by the sudden interposition of the arm of one of her nation, that received the weapon to the very bone.

“Thus foiled in her attempt, the squaw was gently led out of the lodge, and no one offered her violence, or even harsh reproof. No further notice was taken of this transaction by either party.

“Food was then, as usual, placed before the strangers, and soon after a warrior entered with a pipe, which he held whilst Herochche smoked, saying in a loud voice, ‘you tell us that you wish for peace; I say, I will give you a horse; let us see which of us will be the liar, you or I.’ The horse was presented to him.

“The evening, and much of the night, were passed in friendly conversation respecting the events

of the five years' war, which they had waged with each other.

"On the following morning, the Konzas were called to partake of the hospitality of different lodges, whilst the principal men of the village were assembled in council, to deliberate upon the subject of concluding a peace.

"At noon, the joint and grand council was held in Crenier's lodge. The Otoes, Missouris, and Ioways, took their seats around the apartment, with the Konzas in the centre. Herochche, whose business it was first to speak, holding the bowl of the calumet in his hand, remained immovable for the space of three-fourths of an hour, when he arose, pointed the stem of the calumet towards each of the three nations successively, then towards heaven, and the earth, after which he stretched out his arm, with the palm of the hand towards each of the members in succession. He then proceeded to shake each individual by the hand, after which he returned to his place, and renewed the motion of the hand as before.

"Having performed all these introductory formalities, he stood firm and erect, though perfectly easy and unconstrained, and with a bold expression of countenance, loud voice, and emphatical gesticulation, he thus addressed the council:—

" 'Fathers, brothers, chiefs, warriors, and brave men. You are all great men: I am a poor, obscure individual. It has, however, become my duty to inform you, that the chiefs and warriors of my nation, sometime ago, held a council for the purpose of concerting measures to terminate amicably the cruel and unwelcome war that has so long existed between us, and chose me, all insignificant as I am, to bring you this pipe which I hold in my

band. I have visited your village, that we might all smoke from the same pipe, and eat from the same bowl, with the same spoon, in token of our future union in friendship.

“ ‘ On approaching your village, my friends and relatives, I thought I had not long to live. I expected that you would kill me and these poor men who have followed me. But I received encouragement from the reflection, that if it should be my fate to die to-day, I would not have to die to-morrow, and I relied firmly upon the Master of Life.

“ ‘ Nor was this anticipation of death unwarranted by precedent : you may recollect, that five winters ago, six warriors of my nation came to you, as I have now done, and that you killed them all but one, who had the good fortune to escape. This circumstance was vivid in my memory when I yesterday viewed your village in the distance ; said I, those warriors who preceded me in the attempt to accomplish this desirable object, although they were greater and more brave than I, yet were they killed by those whom they came to conciliate, and why shall not I share their fate ? if so, my bones will bleach near theirs. If, on the contrary, I should escape death, I will visit the bones of my friends. The oldest of my followers here, was father-in-law to the chief of those slaughtered messengers ; he is poor and infirm, and has followed us with difficulty ; his relatives also are poor, and have been long lamenting the loss of the chief you killed. I hope you will have pity on him, and give him mockasins (meaning a horse) to return home with, for he cannot walk. Two or three others of my companions are also in want of mockasins for their journey homeward.

“ ‘ My friends, we wish for peace, and we are

tired of war; there is a large tract of country intervening between us, from which, as it is so constantly traversed by our respective hostile parties, we cannot either of us kill the game in security, to furnish our traders with peltries. I wish to see a large level road over that country, connecting our villages together, near which no one can conceal himself in order to kill passengers, and that our squaws may be enabled to visit from village to village in safety, and not be urged by fear to cast off their packs and betake themselves to the thickets, when they see any person on the route. Our nations have made peace frequently, but a peace has not been of long duration. I hope, however, that which we shall now establish, will continue one day, two days, three days, four days, five days. My friends! what I have told you is true; I was not sent here to tell you lies. That is all I have to say.'

"Herochche then lit his pipe, and presented the stem to the brother of the Crenier, Wa-sac-a-ru-ja, or he who eats raw, who had formerly been his intimate friend. The latter held the end of the stem in his hand, whilst he looked Herochche full in the face for a considerable space of time. At length, he most emphatically asked, 'is all true that you have spoken?' The other, striking himself repeatedly and forcibly upon the breast, answered with a loud voice, 'Yes, it is all truth that I have spoken.' Wasacaruja, without any further hesitation, accepted the proffered pipe, and smoked, whilst Herochche courteously held the bowl of it in his hand; the latter warrior then held it in succession to each member of the council, who respectively took a whiff or two, after which the pipe itself was presented to Wasacaruja, to retain.

“It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the energy and propriety with which this speech was delivered, or of the dignity and self-possession of the speaker. Before he commenced, he hesitated, and looked around upon his enemies, probably in order to trace in the lineaments of their countenances, the expressions of their feelings towards him. He then began his address, by raising his voice at once to its full intonation, producing a truly powerful effect upon the ear, by a contrast with the deep and long-continued silence which preceded it. He was at no loss for subject or for words, but proceeded right onwards to the close of his speech, like a full-flowing, impetuous stream.

“Wasacaruja, in consequence of having first accepted of the calumet, was now regarded as responsible for the sincerity of his friend Herochche. He therefore arose, and thus addressed the ambassador:—‘My friend! I am glad to see you on such an occasion as the present, and to hear that your voice is for peace. A few winters ago, when we were in friendship with each other, I visited your village, and you gave me all your people, saying that all the Konzas were mine. But it was not long afterwards, as we hunted near your country, that you stole our horses, and killed some of our people, and I cannot but believe that the same course will be again pursued. Nevertheless, I shall again repair to the same place of which I have spoken, this autumn, for the purpose of hunting, and in the spring I will again visit your town. You observed that you were apprehensive of being killed as you approached our village, and you most probably would have been so, coming as you did, late in the evening, and without the usual formality of sending a messenger to apprize us of your approach, had you

not been accompanied by the *Big Knife*, with whom you are so well acquainted. But we have now smoked together, and I hope that the peace thus established may long continue. You say that you are in want of mockasins; we will endeavour to give you one or two for your journey home. That is all I have to say.'

"Herochche then apologized for his unceremonious entrance into the village, by saying, that he knew it was customary to send forward a runner, on such an occasion, and he should have done so, but his friend the *Big Knife*, whom he had previously consulted with that view, told him that he had full confidence in the magnanimity of the Otoes.

"Thus the ceremony was concluded; and peace restored between the two nations."*

* Long's Journal, Vol. I. p. 310.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THEIR RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION.

PERHAPS there is no subject, relative to the red people, involved in greater obscurity, than their ideas and opinions on religion.* All that we know with respect to them, is made up of those inferences, which the best observers of their manners have deduced and communicated. The information which we possess in relation to the religious opinions of those nations, as well ancient as modern, among whom the doctrines of Christianity have not been diffused, leads strongly to the persuasion that the human mind is prone to a belief in the plurality of Gods. The probable reason is, that its limited faculties are not prompt to conceive the union of every attribute, requisite to the creation and government of the universe, in a single Godhead. Hence, the American savages, in common with all other unenlightened nations, are polytheists. They believe, indeed, in a supreme being, whom they denominate the Great Spirit, or Master of Life. They address their supplications, and their thanks, for benefits, to him : while they also believe in the existence of an evil spirit, the author of all mischief, to whom their adorations are offered, with the hope of deprecating his displeasure. According to their idea, the Great Spirit, or master of life, is omnipotent. The evil spirit can only exercise an inferior and limited power.†

* McKenzie says, "they manifest a decided unwillingness to make any communication on this subject."

† Heckewelder.

But, besides these, they worship a multitude of subordinate divinities, to whom they ascribe a special superintendence over human agents. Charlevoix says, "These they divide into good and bad. The good spirits are called by the Hurons, Okkis, by the Algonquins, Manitous. They suppose them to be the guardians of men; and that each has his own tutelary deity. In fact, every thing in nature has its spirit, though all have not the same rank; nor the same influence. The animals they hunt have their spirits. If they do not understand any thing, they immediately say *it is a spirit*. If any man performs a remarkable exploit, or exhibits extraordinary talents, he is said *to be a spirit*: or in other words, his tutelary deity is supposed to possess more than ordinary power. It is remarkable, however, that the tutelary deities are not believed to take men under their protection, till something has been done to merit the favour. A parent, who wishes to obtain a guardian spirit for his child, first blackens his face, and then causes him to fast for several days. During this time, it is expected that the spirit will reveal himself in a dream; and on this account the child is anxiously examined, every morning, with regard to the visions of the preceding night. Whatever the child happens to dream of most frequently, even if it happens to be the head of a bird, the foot of an animal, or any thing of the most worthless nature, becomes the symbol, or figure, under which the okki reveals himself. With this figure, in the conception of his votary, the spirit becomes identified; the image is preserved with the greatest care; is the constant companion, on all great and important occasions, and the constant object of consultation and worship.

“As soon as a child is informed what is the nature, or form, of his protecting deity, he is carefully instructed in the obligations he is under to do him homage; to follow his advice, communicated in dreams, to deserve his favours, to confide implicitly in his care, and to dread the consequences of his displeasure. For this reason, when the Huron, or the Iroquois, goes to battle, or to the chase, the image of his okki is as carefully carried with him as his arms. At night each one places his guardian idol on the palisades surrounding the camp, with the face turned from the quarter to which the warriors, or hunters, are about to march. He then prays to it for an hour, as he does also in the morning before he continues his course. This homage performed, he lies down to rest, and sleeps in tranquillity, fully persuaded, that his spirit will assume the whole duty of keeping guard, and that he has nothing to fear.”

McKenzie says, “that the okki, or maniton, of the Knisteneaux, is a small carved image, about eight inches long. Its first covering is of down, over which a piece of birch bark is closely tied, and the whole is enveloped in several folds of red and blue cloth. This little figure is an object of the most pious regard.”* The authority of the missionary Heckewelder, is to the same effect; and there is abundant proof, derivable from various respectable sources, that the Indians, from one extremity of our continent to the other, and those who formerly inhabited the islands in the vicinity of our Atlantic coast, have, ever since they were known to the whites, entertained an uniformity of belief, with respect to the divine power. This uniformity

* History of the Fur Trade, page 70.

among tribes, separated by great distances, utterly unconnected with, and unknown to each other, presents a trait inexplicable, on any principles of the philosophy of the human mind, which occurs to my understanding; and challenges the research of those who are competent to more profound investigation.

The immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, are with all the Indian nations, articles of their creed. But their notions with respect to that state are various, and seem to be influenced by external circumstances. Among those, who, like the Chippewans, or Chippeways, inhabit a *cold and barren region*, surrounded by lakes which they are accustomed to navigate in canoes, it is the belief, says McKenzie, "that after death they shall inhabit a most beautiful island, in the centre of an extensive lake, on the surface of which they will embark in a stone canoe, and, if their actions have been generally good, will be borne by a gentle current to their delightful and eternal abode. But if, on the contrary, their bad actions predominate, the stone canoe sinks, and leaves them up to their chins in water, to behold and regret the reward enjoyed by the good, and eternally struggling, but with unavailing endeavours, to reach the blissful island, from which they are excluded for ever."*

Edwards; in the History of the West Indies, says that the natives of Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Jamaica, and Trinidad, placed in a *tropical climate*, supposed that the spirits of good men were conveyed to the pleasant valley of Coyoaba; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with guavas, and other delicious fruits, *cool shades*, and murmuring rivulets, in a country where drought never rages,

* McKenzie's History of the Fur Trade, page 84.

and the hurricane is never felt." The same author says, that "the fierce Charibdees contemplated a paradise, fit for the reception and residence of none but the brave. The degenerate and the cowardly they doomed to everlasting banishment beyond the mountains; to unremitting labour in employments that disgrace manhood; a disgrace heightened by the greatest of all afflictions, captivity and servitude among their enemies."

I was informed that those Indians whose prisoner I was, and who inhabited the country between the Ohio river and the Lakes, believed that the good man, after death, is transferred to a country abounding in the *largest, best, and fattest game*, of which he takes *whatever quantity he chooses, without diminishing the abundance*: and that the wicked are doomed to a wretched abode, where none but the *smallest and leanest game* can be obtained, *in little quantities, and with great difficulty*.

"All the Indians believe, that to have been a good hunter, brave in war, fortunate in every enterprise, and victorious over many enemies, are the only titles to enter their abode of bliss. The happiness of it consists in the never-failing supply of game, an eternal spring, and an abundance of every thing which can delight the senses, without the labour of procuring it. They suppose that the soul, when separated from the body, preserves the same inclinations which it had when both were united. For this reason, they bury with the dead all that they had in use when alive. Some imagine that all men have two souls, one of which never leaves the body, unless it be to inhabit another. This transmigration, however, is peculiar to the souls of those who die in infancy, and who, therefore, have the privilege of commencing a second life, because they enjoyed so little of the first.

Hence, children are buried along the highways, that the women as they pass, may receive their souls. From this idea of their remaining with the body, arises the duty of placing food upon their graves : and mothers have been seen to draw from their bosoms that nourishment, which these little creatures loved when alive, and shed it upon the earth which covered their remains.*

Mr. Schoolcraft's Journal contains the following remarks on the religion and superstition of the Northern Indians. "In the true acceptance of the term, the Indians have no religion : but they believe in the existence of a great invisible Spirit, who resides in the region of the clouds, and by means of inferior spirits, throughout every part of the earth. It is not ascertained, however, that they acknowledge the gift of life from this Spirit, or pay him the homage of religious adoration. Manitou, in the Indian languages, signifies 'Spirit,' with all the tribes extending from the Arkansaw to the sources of the Mississippi. They have good and bad Manitous : great and small Manitous : a Manitou for every cave, waterfall, or other commanding object of Nature, and generally make offerings at such places. These tributary acknowledgments, however, we have observed, are such things as, in their nature, are perfectly useless to the savages ; a pair of old mockasins, or leggings, a broken paddle, or other useless or trifling article. Small bits of carrot tobacco are the only valuable offering we have observed, but they never leave a silver arm-band, a beaver skin, a knife, a hatchet, or other substance of utility. Neither is there that solemnity observed in making these deposits which has been represented ; nor does there appear to be any

* Charlevoix.

obligation upon individuals to make them, or to renew them, at any regular periods. The thing appears entirely optional, and is often accidental. Offerings are made when they happen to pass by any scene capable of exciting wonder; but they seldom, if ever, undertake journeys to perform them. Their bad Manitous answer to our devil, but I have not learned that their bad Manitous are considered to be subservient to one great bad Manitou. Neither do I know that the connexion existing between the good Manitous, from the most inferior up to the Great Spirit, is precisely what I have stated it to be, or that there is any fixed and uniform understanding among them respecting it; but my impression is, that an understanding of this sort is universal.

“All are more or less superstitious, and believe in miraculous transformations, ghosts, and witchcraft. They have jugglers and prophets, who predict events, who interpret dreams, and who perform incantations and mummeries. Great solemnity is observed on occasions of this kind: When men and women are ceremoniously arranged around the walls of a cabin appropriated to these mysteries, and while they alternately assist in the performance of a round of unintelligible ceremonies, the spectator finds a difficulty in restraining his laughter. A magic rod, suddenly darted at the person who is the subject of the operation, causes him to fall, as if struck dead. A whiff from a tobacco pipe communicates new spirit to him, and he arises, reinstated in his former health of body or mind. The most remarkable of these ceremonies is called the medicine dance, when all sorts of bodily ailments are affected to be cured; and persons in the last stage of existence are sometimes brought out to

undergo these ceremonies, who die while they are performing. Yet their faith is not destroyed ; it is considered the signal interposition of some bad spirit, who has prevented the operation of the medicine, that is, the *ceremony*, for physical aids are not relied on in these cases ; and, it one in ten who have been subjects of operation, recovers, the success in that single case is alone dwelt on, and the more unsuccessful are disregarded. Such is the religion, the superstition, and the knowledge of medicine, of the Lake savages, blended as they appear. It is difficult to separate them, and to say how much may be considered religious, and how much mere mummary. Much allowance, however, is to be made, on account of our ignorance of their languages ; on account of bad interpretation, and the unfavourable sentiments we may entertain from early prejudices, or from other causes, which are apt to influence our opinions and views.

“ As to the success which has attended the attempts to introduce Christianity among them, it is difficult to perceive, that any material change has been worked among the tribes so remote. The French Missionaries were the most successful, particularly with the Hurons, and many of the Indians still retain some of the signs and symbols of the Catholic religion. Silver crosses, delivered to them a century ago by Jesuit priests, are still preserved and worn, and they profess a great veneration for them. This religion, striking as it has always appeared to the illiterate and vulgar, by its splendid ceremonies and external signs, appears to have presented great attractions for the Indians. They do not appear, however, to retain any notions of the doctrines taught, and, so far as I have been able to learn, do not wish to be disturbed by the introduc-

tion of any religion, preferring, in their emphatic language, to follow the religion of their fathers."*

They do not observe any particular forms of worship, nor have they any priests, who regularly officiate as such. The jugglers of whom Mr. Schoolcraft speaks in the foregoing extract, have been considered as priests, by some travellers. The French Missionaries called them *jongleurs*: the English and Americans, jugglers, or conjurors: the Indians, medicine men; Charlevoix and Heckewelder concur with Mr. Schoolcraft in the character of them given by him. The influence which they acquire and exercise, over the credulous and ignorant minds of their red brethren, is unbounded. Man, in every grade of society, is addicted to superstition. Few individuals, if any, of the human race, are entirely exempt from its sway. But the mass of Indians push its follies to the most absurd excess, and the conjurors employ their influence for purposes of the basest depravity. The savages believe, that these conjurors can inflict any disease or mischief at pleasure, on those who are obnoxious to them.

"The Omewhaw chief, Blackbird," as we are informed by Major Long, "gained the reputation of the greatest of medicine men, and his medicine, which was no other than arsenic itself, that had been furnished him by the villany of the traders, was secretly administered to his enemies or rivals. Many were the victims to his unprincipled ambition, and the nation stood in awe of him, as of the Supreme Arbiter of their fate.

"One inferior, but distinguished chief, called Little Bow, at length opposed his power. This

* Schoolcraft, page 88.

man was a warrior of high renown, and so popular in the nation, that he enjoyed the confidence and best wishes of the people, whilst his rival reigned in terror. Such an opponent could not be brooked, and the Blackbird endeavoured to destroy him.

“ On one occasion, the Little Bow returned to his lodge after an absence of a few days on an excursion. His wife placed before him his accustomed food ; but the wariness of the Indian character led him to observe some peculiarity in her behaviour, which assured him all was not right. He questioned her concerning the food he had set before him, when her countenance and her replies so much increased his suspicions, that he compelled her to eat the contents of the bowl. She then confessed that the Blackbird had induced her to mingle with the food a portion of his terrible medicine, in order to destroy him. She fell a victim to the machination of the Blackbird, who was disappointed of his object.”*

Mr. Duchouquet, who is now at my side, was well acquainted with the Shawanese chief Tecumthe, and his twin brother Elsquataway, the Prophet, and states a fact, in relation to these two celebrated Indians, closely connected with my present subject. A malady, in many instances fatal, prevailed among the Shawanese at Greenville, the place where these brothers resided. The Prophet declared it had been revealed to him, by a dream, that two Indians, one of whom lived at Lewistown, more than fifty miles from Greenville, and the other at Wapaghkonetta; about twenty miles from Greenville, by their power as witches, or sorcerers, connected with the evil spirit, had brought the fatal disease on the inhabitants of their village. Tecumthe,

* Long's Journal, pages 226, 7.

highly exasperated against the supposed murderers of his people, immediately proclaimed his resolution to put them to death, if any of his friends would aid him in effecting that object. Blue-jacket, a distinguished chief and warrior, offered his assistance. They commenced their journey without delay, armed, Tecumthe with a tomahawk, and Blue-jacket with a sabre. They travelled, by a secret rout, through the woods, first to Lewistown, where they killed one of the men accused by the Prophet, and then to Wapaghkonetta, where Mr. Duchouquet lived, and where they killed the other.

A strong suspicion, if not a presumption, arises from other circumstances in the conduct of the Prophet, that he was actuated by some detestable motive, when he selected these victims. In various instances, availing himself of that ascendancy which he had acquired over his ignorant and superstitious countrymen, by impressing them with the persuasion, that he possessed supernatural powers, he induced wives and husbands to believe, that if they continued the matrimonial connection their fate in a future world would be miserable. He managed to alarm them so completely, that in several cases, known to Mr. Duchouquet, this pretended agent of the Good Spirit effected a separation between man and wife, when, not long afterwards, he conducted the women, thus divorced, to his own dwelling, and retained them as his wives !

The Indians make a distinction between their conjurors, or medicine-men, and those whom they regard as witches, or sorcerers. They believe that the first class derive all their skill and power from the Good Spirit ; and therefore the utmost respect and reverence are cherished for them : the latter class depends, according to the Indian creed, on the

aid of the evil spirit, and are objects of the utmost horror. Those who are deemed guilty of practising their art, are subjected, without hesitation or mercy, to capital punishment. In such cases, suspicion supplies the want of evidence, and a fictitious crime brings on the unfortunate victim the consequences of atrocious guilt.

Mr. Duchouquet was an eye-witness to the assassination of a young man, who had threatened, by his skill in witchcraft, to destroy Black-hoof, the present principal chief of the Shawanese. It was, in fact, an execution, sanctioned by the deliberate decision of the tribe, pronouncing sentence of death, after their manner, on a man who had daringly proclaimed himself the agent of the evil spirit. My friend assures me, that in another instance, a squaw was murdered by two of the Shawanese, because they *suspected* she was a sorceress. They avowed the act and its motive. Both were approved by their red brethren.

Mr. Moses Dawson, of the State of Ohio, has lately published his memoirs of General Wm. H. Harrison. He tells us, in this work,* “that the Prophet,† to get rid of those chiefs whom he

* Page 82.

† Mr. Dawson, in the work here quoted, says, that the prophet, after the termination of the last war with Great Britain, received a pension from the Government of that country, and resided in Canada. About the first of October, 1826, as I am informed by Mr. Duchouquet, and by a letter of the Indian Agent, Mr. John Johnston, published in the Piqua Gazette, the Prophet and his nephew, Tecumthe's son, commenced their journey, with a large band of their countrymen, for the purpose of settling themselves beyond the Mississippi. Here follows an extract from the Agent's letter.

“I am at this moment employed in removing a considerable body of Indians from Ohio to the west of the Mississippi river. The last of them will leave here to-day. Among the number is the noted Shawanese prophet Elsquataway, or the opening of a door, or new way, where all may enter, and his nephew Puchetha, or, crouching and watching his prey, the only surviving son of the celebrated chieftain Tecumthe.

thought inimical to his schemes, preferred an accusation against the great chief of the Delaware nation, and three of his friends, for witchcraft ; and as conviction always followed accusation, for this crime, they were all brought to the stake, and suffered accordingly.

“ The Pawnee Loups heretofore exhibited a singular instance, among the American Aborigines, of a people, addicted to the inhuman, superstitious rite, of making propitiatory offerings of human victims to Venus, the *great star*. The origin of this sanguinary sacrifice is unknown : probably it existed previously to their intercourse with the white traders. This solemn ceremony was performed annually, and immediately preceded their agricultural operations ; for the success of which, it appears to have been instituted. A breach of this duty, the performance of which they believed to be required by the Great Star, it was supposed, would be succeeded by the total failure of their crops of maize, beans, and pumpkins, and the consequent total privation of their vegetable food.

“ To obviate a national calamity so formidable, any person was at liberty to offer up an individual, of either sex, that by his prowess in war, he had become possessed of.

“ The devoted individual was clothed in the gayest and most costly attire ; profusely supplied with the choicest food ; and constantly attended by the magi, who anticipated all his wants ; cautiously concealed from him the real object of their sedulous attentions, and endeavoured to preserve his mind in a state of cheerfulness, with a view of promoting obesity, and thereby rendering the sacrifice more acceptable to their Ceres.

“ When the victim was thus sufficiently fattened for their purpose, a suitable day was appointed for

the performance of the rite, that the whole nation might attend.

“The victim was bound to a cross, in presence of the assembled multitude ; when a solemn dance was performed, and after some other ceremonies, the warrior, whose prisoner he had been, cleaved his head with the tomahawk ; and his speedy death was ensured by numerous archers, who penetrated his body with their arrows.

“A trader informed us, that the squaws cut pieces of flesh from the deceased, with which they greased their hoes ; but this was denied by another who had been present at one of these sacrifices. However this may be, the ceremony was believed to have called down a blessing upon their labours of the field ; and they proceeded to planting without delay.

“The present mild and humane chief of the nation, Satelasha, or Knife-chief, had long regarded this sacrifice as an unnecessary and cruel exhibition of power, exercised upon unfortunate and defenceless individuals, whom they were bound to protect ; and he vainly endeavoured to abolish it by philanthropic admonitions.

“An Ietan woman, who was brought captive into the village, was doomed to the Great Star by the warrior, whose property she had become by the fate of war. She underwent the usual preparations, and, on the appointed day, was led to the cross, amidst a great concourse of people, as eager, perhaps, as their civilized fellow-men, to witness the horrors of an execution. The victim was bound to the cross with thongs of skin ; and the usual ceremonies being performed, her dread of a more terrible death was about to be terminated by the tomahawk, and the arrow. At this critical juncture, Petalasharoo (son of the Knife-chief,) stepped forward into the area, and in a hurried but firm manner, de-

clared that it was his father's wish to abolish this sacrifice; that for himself, he had come before them, for the purpose of laying down his life upon the spot, or of releasing the victim. He then cut the cords which bound her to the cross, carried her swiftly through the crowd to a horse, which he presented to her; and having mounted another himself, conveyed her beyond the reach of immediate pursuit; when, after having supplied her with food, and admonishing her to make the best of her way to her own nation, which was at the distance of at least four hundred miles, he was constrained to return to his village. The emancipated Ietan had, however, the good fortune, on her journey of the subsequent day, to meet with a war-party of her own people, by whom she was conveyed to her family in safety.

"This daring deed would, almost to a certainty, have terminated in an unsuccessful attempt under the arm of any other warrior; and Petalesharoo was, no doubt, indebted for this successful and noble achievement, to the distinguished renown which his feats of chivalry had already gained for him, and which commanded the high respect of all his rival warriors.

"Notwithstanding the signal success of this enterprise, another display of the firmness and determination of the young warrior was required, to abolish this sacrifice, it is to be hoped, for ever. The succeeding spring, a warrior, who had captured a fine Spanish boy, vowed to sacrifice him to the Great Star, and accordingly placed him under the care of the magi for that purpose.

"The Knife-chief, learning the determination of the warrior, consulted with his son, respecting the best means of preventing a repetition of the horrible ceremony. 'I will rescue the boy,' said Petalesharoo, 'as a warrior should, by force;' but the

Knife-chief, unwilling that his son should again expose himself to a danger so imminent, as that which he had once encountered in this cause, hoped to compel the warrior to exchange his victim for a large quantity of merchandise, which he would endeavour to obtain with that view. For this purpose, he repaired to Mr. Pappan, who happened to be in the village for the purposes of trade, and communicated to him his intentions. Mr. Pappan generously contributed a considerable quantity of merchandise, and much was added by himself, by Petalesharoo, and other Indians.

"All this treasure was laid in a heap together, in the lodge of the Knife-chief, who, thereupon, summoned the warrior before him. The chief armed himself with his war-club, and explained the object of his call, commanding the warrior to accept the merchandise and give up the boy, or prepare for instant death. The warrior refused, and the chief waived his club in the air, towards the warrior. 'Strike,' said Petalesharoo, who stood near, to support his father, 'I will meet the vengeance of his friends.' But the more prudent and politic chief, added a few more articles to the mass of merchandise, in order to give the warrior another opportunity of acquiescing, without forfeiting his word.

"This expedient succeeded; the goods were reluctantly accepted, and the boy was liberated, and was subsequently conducted to St. Louis by the traders. The merchandise was sacrificed in the place of the boy; the cloth was cut in shreds, and suspended on poles, at the place of sacrifice; and many of the valuables were consumed by fire. It is not expected that another attempt will be made to immolate a human victim, during the life of Petalesharoo, or of his benign father."—*Long's Journal*, Vol I. p. 357—360.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THEIR FUNERALS, MODES OF BURIAL,
MOURNING, &c.

M^cKENZIE informs us, that among the Kriste-neaux, or Killistenoës, who inhabit the country in the north-western parts of America, "The funeral rites begin, like all other solemn ceremonials, with smoking, and are concluded by a feast. The body is dressed in the best habiliments possessed by the deceased, or his relations, and is then deposited in a grave, lined with branches. Some domestic utensils are placed on it, and a kind of canopy is erected over it. During this ceremony, great lamentations are made; and if the departed person is very much regretted, the nearest relations cut off their hair, pierce the fleshy parts of their thighs and arms with arrows, knives, &c., and blacken their faces with charcoal. If they have distinguished themselves in war, they are sometimes laid on a kind of scaffolding; and I have been informed, that women, as in the East, have been known to sacrifice themselves to the manes of their husbands. The whole of the property belonging to the deceased person is destroyed; and the relations take, in exchange for the wearing apparel, any rags that will cover their nakedness. The feast bestowed on the occasion, which is, or at least used to be, repeated annually, is accompanied with eulogiums on the deceased, and without any acts of ferocity. On the tomb are carved, or painted, the symbols of his tribe, which are taken from the different animals of the country." The same traveller tells us, that those Chepewyans, or Chippe-

ways, whom he visited, "do not bury their dead, because they inhabit such high latitudes, that the ground never thaws; but it is well known, that when they are in the woods, they cover their dead with trees." Lewis and Clarke, on several occasions, tell us, that it is customary among the Indians, to express grief for the death of relations, by some corporeal suffering; such as cutting off the joints of their fingers, and piercing their bodies with sharp instruments. These gentlemen thus describe a vault, or place of deposite for the dead. "It is a building about sixty feet long, and twelve feet wide, and is formed by placing in the ground, poles, or forks, six feet high, across which, a long pole is extended the whole length of the structure. Against this ridge-pole, are placed broad boards, and pieces of canoes, in a slanting direction, so as to form a shed. It stands east and west, and neither of the extremities are closed. On entering the western end, we observed a number of bodies wrapped carefully in leather robes, and arranged in rows on boards, which were then covered with a mat. This was the part destined for those who had recently died: a little farther on, the bones half decayed, were scattered about; and in the centre of the building, was a large pile of them heaped promiscuously on each other. At the eastern extremity was a mat, on which twenty-one skulls were placed in a circular form; the mode of interment being, first to wrap the body in robes, and as it decays, the bones are thrown into the heap, and the skulls placed together. From the different boards and pieces of canoes which form the vault, were suspended, on the inside, fishing-nets, blankets, wooden bowls, robes, skins, trenchers, and trinkets of various kinds, obviously intended as offerings of affection, to deceased relatives. On the outside of the vault, were the skeletons of several horses, and

great quantities of bones in the neighbourhood; which induced us to believe that these animals were most probably sacrificed at the funeral rites of their masters.”*

Another burying place was visited by the same gentlemen. “It consists of eight vaults made of pine or cedar boards closely connected, about eight feet square and six in height: the top secured and covered with wide boards sloping a little, so as to convey off the rain. The direction of all of them is east and west, the door being on the eastern side and partially stopped with wide boards, decorated with rude pictures of men and animals. On entering we found in some of them four bodies, carefully wrapped in skins tied with cords of grass and bark, lying on a mat in a direction east and west. The other vaults contained only bones, which were in some of them piled to the height of four feet. On the tops of the vaults and on poles attached to them, hung brass kettles and frying-pans with holes in their bottoms, baskets, bowls, sea-shells, skins, pieces of cloth, hair, bags of trinkets and small bones, the offerings of friendship or affection, which have been saved by a pious veneration from the ferocity of war, or the more dangerous temptations of individual gain. The whole of the walls as well as the door, were decorated with strange figures, cut and painted on them; and besides these, were several wooden images of men, some of them so old and decayed as to have almost lost their shape, which were all placed against the sides of the vaults. These images, as well as those in the houses we have lately seen, do not appear to be at all the objects of adoration: in this place they were most probably intended as resemblances of those whose

*-Lewis and Clarke, p. 52.

decease they indicate; and when we observe them in houses, they occupy the most conspicuous part; but are treated more like ornaments, than objects of worship. Near the vaults which are standing, are the remains of others on the ground, rotted and covered with moss: and as they are formed of the most durable pine and cedar timber, there is every appearance, that for a very long series of years, this retired spot has been the depository of the Indians near this place.

“ The Chinooks, Clatsops, (on the Columbia,) and most of the adjoining nations, dispose of their dead in canoes. For this purpose a scaffold is erected, by fixing perpendicularly in the ground four long pieces of split timber. These are placed two by two, just wide enough apart to admit the canoe, and long enough to support its extremities. The boards are connected by a bar of wood, run through them at the height of six feet, on which is placed a small canoe containing the body of the deceased, carefully wrapped in a robe of dressed skins, with a paddle and some articles belonging to the deceased, by his side. Over this canoe is placed one of a larger size, reversed, with its gunwale resting on the cross-bars, so as to cover the body completely. One or more large mats of rushes, or flags, are then rolled round the canoes and the whole secured by cords, usually made of the bark of the white cedar. On these cross-bars are hung different articles of clothing, or culinary utensils. The method practised by the Killamacks, differs somewhat from this: the body being deposited in an oblong box of plank, which, with the paddle and other articles, is placed in a canoe resting on the ground.”*

They practise other modes of depositing their

* Lewis and Clarke, vol. II. p. 120.

dead, among the various tribes, but so little different from those which have been described, that it is unnecessary to occupy more time with them.*

Those whose curiosity impels them farther, may be gratified, by resorting to Schoolcraft's *Journal*, and to Heckewelder's *History of Indian Nations*. In this last-mentioned work, commencing at the 262d page, is a minute account of an Indian funeral, so long that my limits will not permit me to transcribe it.

"Mourning over the corpse is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends."† Their lamentations are loudly continued for several successive weeks. It is the usage of many tribes to make a hole in the top of the coffin or box, which contains the dead body, to facilitate the entrance and exit of the spirit.

"After the death of a husband, his widow scarifies herself, rubs her person with clay, and becomes negligent of her dress until the expiration of a year. The husband does not weep for his wife, because, according to the savages, tears do not become men: but this is not general among all nations. The women weep for their husbands a year: they call him without ceasing, and fill their village with cries and lamentations, especially at the rising and setting of the sun, at noon, and in some places when they go to work, and when they return. Mothers do much the same for their children. The chiefs mourn only six months, and may afterwards marry again."‡

* M'Kenzie tells us, that some Indians burn their dead. Long's *Journal*, page 222.

† Heckewelder's *History of Indian Nations*, p. 270.

‡ Charlevoix, p. 277.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THEIR ELOQUENCE.

ON this subject I am not prepared or disposed to dilate, having never personally witnessed any effort of Indian oratory, and possessing not the slightest knowledge of any of their idioms. The specimens which have come under my eye, from the report of others, leave some doubt on my mind, whether a greater degree of talent has not been attributed to these children of nature, by some of their eulogists, than fairly comes to their share. It is not easy to form a satisfactory opinion of productions delivered in a language which we do not understand. When they are translated into our own, much of their character will depend on the accuracy and elegance of their translation. Every man, in the slightest degree conversant with such subjects, distinctly knows, that there are peculiarities in every language, certain modes of expression; and even of thought, which cannot, with precision, be transferred to another. The task of translation, to be well executed, requires a perfect intimacy both with the original tongue, and with that in which the same ideas are to be expressed. Taste and abilities are also indispensable requisites. As far as my information extends, it may be questioned whether there ever was one of our Indian interpreters capable of performing such a service with *exactness*: and *elegance* is certainly beyond their powers. Yet we have seen some Indian speeches in perfectly good, and even elegant English. They must have been

but ordinary performances as rendered by the illiterate interpreters ; men who have spent most of their time among the red people, and who never were proficient in our language. How have these speeches acquired the polish by which some of them are distinguished ? I can conceive but one reply to this inquiry. The interpreters supply what, they say, is the substance of an Indian speech. Some man of taste and talent modifies it, as to style, composition, and, perhaps, even as to thought. Is it not difficult, then, to determine, whether its merits are truly imputable to the unlettered orator who delivered, or to the scholar who translated it ? A decision perfectly satisfactory can only be formed by those who are well versed in the original language, and have heard or seen the speech in that original. There are few, if any, of our literati, who are such accomplished Indian linguists as to be capable of turning a Shawanese or Omawhaw paragraph, with accuracy, into our language. I am, therefore, at a loss to decide for myself, how far I shall go in estimating the powers of savage oratory. Logan's speech, so much the subject of animadversion, is a fine burst of feeling. Its pathos and conciseness lead to the persuasion that it is substantially genuine, because no mental culture, no talent, are indispensable requisites to the expression of the strong emotions of the heart. Yet, is it certain, that the afflicted chief poured forth his feelings in words of the very import attributed to him by the first publisher of this celebrated speech ? Or, is it uncertain, whether we are indebted to Col. Gibson, or to Mr. Jefferson, for most of its excellence ?

It is observable, that a difference of opinion prevails among those who are eminently qualified to judge on such subjects with respect to the powers

of eloquence displayed by the various tribes. Mr. De Witt Clinton thinks, that the talent for eloquence is limited to a single nation of Indians. Other well-informed gentlemen ascribe it to individuals of many nations. The bold, independent mind of the Indian, in most of the tribes, disposes and enables him to bring all its powers into action. If he possesses any talent for oratory, nothing will restrain him in its exercise. No doubts of his own competency, no fears of criticism, operate upon him. Many individuals of them possess native vigour of intellect, and display considerable shrewdness and sagacity. The figures of speech which they employ are frequently striking, and they are much indebted to them for any character which they have acquired as orators. I cannot, however, help suspecting, that a higher rank is assigned to their eloquence, by its admirers, than would be admitted, was not the recollection always present to our minds, that they are destitute of mental culture. Large allowance is certainly due to this consideration. Yet, if the high encomiums which are sometimes pronounced on their eloquence, be just, they lead to the conclusion, that this talent, like that for poetry, is the gift of nature, and does not result from the enlargement of our faculties by education, and the attainments of literature. These, however, are the only resources from which the orator of civilized life is formed.

A quotation or two, from the intelligent and judicious Mr. Schoolcraft, will explain the opinion which he adopted of Indian eloquence, from those specimens which he witnessed in person.

* "A council was held with the Sandy Lake In-

* Schoolcraft's Journal, p. 234.

dians, at their own solicitation, and several speeches addressed to Governor Cass, as the representative of the President of the United States, of whom they speak as their 'Great Father.' These speeches, as they have been interpreted to us, do not possess the characteristic eloquence of Indian oratory, although apparently delivered by the Indians in a very impassioned and animated manner. But it appears, at least in these instances, that they 'do not suit the action to the word, and the word to the action;' as what we have supposed to be the most impassioned eloquence, when heard in the Indian tongue, has turned out, when translated, to be a tissue of common-place ideas, without passion, eloquence, or figures." The copy of this speech, which is given by Mr. Schoolcraft, justifies his remarks. The same gentleman, on a subsequent occasion, repeats, in substance, the speech of another Indian, and proceeds to observe, "He spoke with deliberation, and without that *wild gesticulation which is common among savages*. Two or three others afterwards spoke, but I was not struck with any expressions of much point. They repeated several things that had before been said, and delivered *pacific sentiments* in the *most furious manner*."*

Many of the Indian speeches which I have seen, embrace the same topics, and in that kind of language which is employed by bold beggars. They contain complaints of their poverty, and are replete with fulsome flattery to the whites, and almost uniformly conclude with one expression, "I have no more to say." I will lay before my readers some of the best productions of their eloquence which I have been able to obtain. I have never read any equal to that delivered by Weatherford, when he surrendered himself to General Jackson. But it is

* Schoolcraft, p. 319.

to be remembered, that Weatherford is a well-educated half-breed, who has enjoyed the benefits of classical instruction at one of our colleges, and speaks our language with fluency and eloquence. His speech is not a translation, but is given in his own words.

Weatherford was a chief of the Creek Nation, who had commanded a body of warriors when they attacked the American garrison at Fort Mimms. The number of troops to whom the defence of this fort had been committed, was utterly unequal to the resistance of the overwhelming force led by Weatherford. He therefore succeeded in carrying the works, within which were about one hundred and fifty women and children, all of whom were butchered, without mercy. General Jackson had subdued the Creeks in several battles, and they began to supplicate peace. Many of the chiefs repaired to the General with professions of friendship. These he distrusted, and required them, as a proof of their sincerity, * "to bring Weatherford to his camp, confined, that he might be dealt with as he deserved. He was one of the first chiefs of the nation, and had been a principal actor in the butchery of Fort Mimms. Justice well demanded retaliation against him. Learning from the chiefs what had been required of them by Jackson, he was prevailed upon, as perhaps the safest course, to proceed to his camp, and make a voluntary surrender of himself. Having reached it without being known, and obtained admission to the general's quarters, he fearlessly stood in his presence, and told him he was Weatherford, the chief who had commanded at Fort Mimms, and that, desiring

* Eaton's Life of General Jackson, p. 176.

peace for himself and for his people, he had come to ask it. Somewhat surprised that one who so richly merited punishment should so sternly demand the protection extended to others, Jackson replied to him, that he was astonished he should venture to appear in his presence ; that he was not ignorant of his having been at Fort Mimms, nor of his inhuman conduct there, for which he well deserved to die. ‘I had directed,’ continued he, ‘that you should be brought to me confined : and had you appeared in this way, I should have known how to have treated you.’ Weatherford replied, ‘I am in your power—do with me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could ; I have fought them, and fought them bravely : if I had an army, I would yet fight, and contend to the last ; but I have none : my people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation.’ Pleased at the firm and high-toned manner of this child of the forest, Jackson informed him that he did not solicit him to lay down his arms, or to become peaceable. ‘The terms on which your nation can be saved, and peace restored, have already been disclosed : in this way, and none other, can you obtain safety. If, however, he desired still to continue the war, and felt himself prepared to meet the consequences, although he was then completely in his power, no advantage should be taken of that circumstance ; that he was at perfect liberty to retire, and unite himself with the war party ; but when taken, he should know how to treat him, for then his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes ; if this were not desired, he might remain where he was, and should be protected.’

“Nothing dismayed, Weatherford answered, that

he desired peace, that his nation might, in some measure, be relieved from their sufferings; that independent of other misfortunes growing out of a state of war, their cattle and grain were all wasted and destroyed, and their women and children left destitute of provisions. 'But,' continued he, 'I may be well addressed in such language now. There was a time when I had a choice, and could have answered you: I have none now—even hope has ended. Once I could animate my warriors to battle: but I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice: their bones are at Talladega, Tallushatchee, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. I have not surrendered myself thoughtlessly. Whilst there was chance of success, I never left my post, nor supplicated peace. But my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation, and for myself. On the miseries and misfortunes brought upon my country, I look back with the deepest sorrow, and wish to avert still greater calamities. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my corn on one bank of the river, and fought them on the other; but your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man: I rely upon your generosity. You will exact no terms of a conquered people but such as they should accede to: whatever they may be, it would now be folly to oppose. If they are opposed, you shall find me among the sternest enforcers of obedience. Those who still hold out, can be influenced only by a mean spirit of revenge; and to these they must not, and shall not sacrifice the last remnant of their country. You have told our nation where we might go, and be safe. This is good talk, and they ought to listen to it. They shall listen to it.' ”

SPEECH OF BLACK THUNDER.*

“ My father,

“ Restrain your feelings, and hear calmly what I shall say. I shall tell it to you plainly. I shall not speak with fear and trembling. I feel no fear—I have no cause to fear. I have never injured you : and innocence can feel no fear. I turn to all : red skins and white skins, and challenge an accusation against me.

“ My father—I don’t understand well how things are working. I have been just set at liberty—am I again to be plunged into bondage ? I know not how or where to turn my head : Frowns are on all sides. I have never forgot what my great father told me. No man has been able to change me. You may, perhaps, my father, be ignorant of what I tell you ; but it is a truth which I call heaven and earth to witness ; a fact that can be easily proved ; that I have been assailed in every possible way that pride, fear, interest, or feeling could touch me. I have been pushed to the last to keep up the tomahawk against you ; but all in vain. I never could be made to feel that you were mine enemy. If this be the conduct of an enemy, I shall never be your friend.

“ You are acquainted, my father, with my removal above Prairie Du Chien. I went and formed a

* It will be recollected that Black Thunder, a Fox chief, has ever maintained a friendly disposition towards the United States. Although from the conduct of the Sacs and Foxes, suspicions may have alighted upon him, yet no evidence of hostility has yet been discovered or manifested. His conduct seems to have been decided and uniform. On the 20th July, 1815, the commissioners who were sent to treat for peace, met some Fox Indians in the council harbour at Portage, and were first addressed by one of a different tribe. He is said to have trembled like an aspen leaf, produced, no doubt, from consciousness of guilt ; scarcely being able to articulate. When he had finished, the Black Thunder rose, and with a firm and manly dignity, delivered the following speech. It was addressed to Governor Clark, as the organ of the commissioners.

settlement and called my warriors around me. We counselled and took our determination, from which we never departed; we smoked, and resolved to make common cause with the United States. I sent you the pipe. I took great pains in sending it; that the Indians of the Mississippi might not know what was doing, I sent it by the Missouri. It resembled this, my father. You received it; my determination was then taken. I told you that we were ready to make war, that your enemies should be our enemies, and waited only for the signal. If doing all this is to manifest hostile dispositions, I do not know how to be friendly. These things I tell you, my father, because it is a truth, a melancholy truth, that the good things which men do are often buried in the ground and forgot, while their evil deeds are stripped naked and proclaimed to the world.

“My father—When I came, it was simply to hear what you had to say to me. I little thought that I should have to defend myself. If I had been your enemy I should doubtless have taken some caution. I would have come with my excuses all prepared. But having ever held you by the hand, I have no excuses to offer. I consider myself, and wish to be considered in the same condition as before the war. If I had fought against you, my father, I would have told it to you, as those of my nation who have will be compelled to do when they come: It will be for them to make their own defence in the best way. I have nothing to say but for myself and tribe.

“My father—As to what has, or may be done, in council here, I have nothing to say. It is simply to repeat what I said to my great father, the President of the United States; you heard it, and no doubt remember it. It is simply to say, that my

lands can never be surrendered. I was cheated, basely cheated, in the contract; while I live they shall never be surrendered.

“My father—I call heaven and earth to witness, and smoke the pipe, in evidence of the truth and sincerity of what I have said. I remember the sentiments my great father expressed towards me. I hope he and you still cherish the same. If you do, I hope you will receive the pipe. My only desire is to smoke it with you, to grasp your sacred hand, and claim the protection of the United States for myself and tribe. I hope as the pipe touches your lips it will operate as a blessing on all my tribe; that the smoke will rise like a cloud, and as it passes away will carry with it all the animosities that have arisen between us.”

SPEECH OF THE BIG ELK.*

“Do not grieve. Misfortunes will happen to the best and wisest men. Death will come, and always comes out of season. It is the command of the Great Spirit, and all nations and people must obey. What is past and cannot be prevented, should not be grieved for. Be not discouraged or displeased then, that in visiting your father here, you have lost your chief. A misfortune of this kind may never again befall you; but this would have attended you, perhaps, at your own village. Five times have I visited this land and never returned with sorrow or pain. Misfortunes do not rise

* On the night of the 14th July, 1815, the Black Buffalo, principal chief of the Teton tribe of Indians, departed this life at Portage De Sioux. The succeeding day he was solemnly interred with the honours of war. Robert Wash, Esq., secretary to the commissioners who had been sent to treat with them, has furnished the following speech, delivered over the grave by the Big Elk, Mahah chief. It is pathetic and filled with energy, and is literally given.

alone in our path : they grow every where. (Addressing himself to Gov. Edwards and Col. Miller,) What a misfortune to me, that I could not have died this day, instead of the chief that lies before us. The trifling loss my nation would have sustained in my death, would have been doubly paid for by the honours of my burial. They would have wiped off every thing like regret. Instead of being covered with the cloud of sorrow, my warriors would have felt the sunshine of joy in their hearts. To me it would have been a most glorious occurrence. Hereafter, when I die at home, instead of a noble grave and a grand procession, the rolling music, and the thundering cannon, with a white flag waving at my head, I shall be wrapt in a robe, (an old robe perhaps) and hoisted on a slender scaffold to the whistling winds, soon to be blown to earth ; my flesh to be devoured by wolves, and my bones rattled on the plains by the wild beasts. (Addressing himself to Col. Miller,) Chief of the warriors—your labours have not been in vain, your attention shall not be forgotten. My nation shall know the respect that is paid over the dead. When I return I will echo the sound of your guns.”

CHAPTER XXVI.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

AN article was published in the North American Review, for January, 1826, comprehending some general and excellent remarks on the American Aborigines, and very judicious strictures on

certain productions which had then recently issued from the press. It is said that Governor Cass, of the Michigan Territory, is the author; and there are strong internal evidences in this very able, but short treatise, that such is the fact. Whoever may have been the writer, it is to be regretted that he did not take a wider range, and present his countrymen with those enlarged views of Indian character, which, without question, he is capable of exhibiting. It is probable that this gentleman is competent to spread before us as great a mass of interesting information, with respect to the Indians in every quarter of our continent, as any individual within the United States. The governor has explored great tracts inhabited by them, and has been long conversant with their usages. His talents are of a high order, and he is exempt from those prejudices which have too frequently given an incorrect colouring to the portraits of missionaries and others, who have been animated by their spirit. But I cannot spare time for digressions. My object, in this chapter is, to supply some omissions in those which precede; while I do not desire to be understood as assuming on myself more than was promised at the commencement of my undertaking—a mere outline of those features which I have endeavoured to sketch of the red people, and by which, principally, they are distinguished from the whites.

The Totem is a remarkable peculiarity preserved by some of the tribes. I cannot determine whether they all have it. But certainly many have borne it ever since they were known to Europeans, and their descendants. “The Totem is the armorial badge, or bearing, of each tribe, into which the various nations are divided. It is the representa-

tion of the animal from which the tribe is named. It is one of the most important in aboriginal polity, and its whole developement would lead to new views and opinions. Its operation is felt in religious ceremonies, in the laws regulating marriages, and in the succession and election of civil, or as they are called, Village Chiefs. If one of the tribes has a right to furnish the chief, the others have a right to elect him.

“The tribes are named from the eagle, the hawk, the beaver, the buffalo, and from ‘all the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air,’ and the fishes of the rivers and lakes. The succession of the tribes is in the female line, and the figure of the sacred animal is the *Totem*, which every individual of the tribe affixes, whenever his mark is necessary, or whenever he wishes to leave a memorial of himself. This beloved symbol adheres to him in death, and is painted on the post which marks his grave.”*

Heckewelder says, “The Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where, for a long time, they had their abode before they came to live on its surface. They say that the great, good, and all powerful Spirit, when he created them, undoubtedly meant, at a proper time, to put them in the enjoyment of all the good things which he had prepared for them upon the earth: but he wisely ordained that their first stage of existence should be within it, as the infant is formed, and takes its first growth, in the womb of its natural mother.

“The Indian mythologists are not agreed as to

* North American Review, for January, 1826, page 63. The reputed author Governor Cass.

the form under which they existed, while in the bowels of the earth. Some assert that they lived there in the human shape, while others, with greater consistency, contend that their existence was in the form of certain terrestrial animals, such as the ground-hog, the rabbit, and the tortoise. This was their state of preparation until they were permitted to come out and take their station on this island as the lords of the rest of the creation. They call the American continent an island, believing that it is entirely surrounded by water.”*

They evince extreme respect for aged persons, so long as they can derive advantage from their experience and advice. But it is the custom of many tribes, when individuals of either sex become burdensome and helpless, to expose them in situations destitute of every chance long to survive. They then leave them to perish after the temporary supply of food is exhausted with which they are furnished when abandoned.† McKenzie says he has seen one or more instances of extreme kindness and assiduity to such as were in the last stage of decrepitude and imbecility, among the north-western Indians.

An inordinate fondness of spirituous liquors prevails with most of them. Some exceptions, however, are found. This propensity is of mischievous consequence, resulting from the effect of intoxication on men accustomed to impose no restraint on their passions, even when exempt from the influence of this high artificial stimulus.—But its pernicious effects on their constitutions, in abridging the term of their existence, and diminishing their numbers, have, probably, been exaggerated.

* Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, page 241.

† Long, and Lewis and Clark.

They cannot obtain so frequent and regular access to this source of intemperance as will place it in their power to indulge the inclination for it very often, or for a long continuance. Charlevoix tells us of an Indian, from whom somebody inquired, "of what he supposed brandy was made?" "Certainly of hearts and tongues," was the reply, "for when I drink it I have courage to fight the evil spirit, and I talk to admiration!" After General Wayne had vanquished the Northern Indians, at the rapids of the Miami, in August, 1795, the chiefs, during the treaty which followed, were invited to dine with the general. To them, drinking was infinitely the most pleasant part of the entertainment. The White Pigeon, a Potawatamie chief, when called on for a toast, rose and said, "I will give you the Great Spirit, and I am much obliged to him for putting so much sense into that man's head who first made rum!"*

The hospitality of the Indians is a subject of frequent and warm panegyric. It is one of the few virtues, perhaps the single virtue, which they owe to their state of society. The hunter or the warrior returns from the perils and fatigues of a long excursion. He is oppressed with hunger, which compels him to halt at the first lodge where he arrives. Its tenant, knowing that he and his guest may change circumstances the next day, or at some subsequent time, renders him every kind attention, and supplies his necessities as far as he is able. He cannot forget that if he should refuse hospitality and refreshment to one whose situation he himself is often compelled to experience, and from whom he may soon be under the necessity of asking

* Dawson's Life of General Harrison.

a little food, he will, probably, incur a bitter retaliation. Policy, therefore, dictates the exercise of a quality which seems to be at variance with most of the traits in the savage character. The missionary Heckewelder, in his "Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren, among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians," (page 185,) has, in some degree, explained this subject. "When small parties passed by" the settlement of Christian Indians on the Muskingum, "they always caused more disturbance than large bodies. The former being insolent, and bent on mischief, *if not immediately served with a dish of victuals, would cut down corn as they passed the fields, and shoot hogs by the way.*" And again, at the 163d page of the same work, he says, "It is a settled point with Indian warriors, that where begging, or asking for provisions is not complied with, or is refused to them, *they make free to take*; and where they do take, they *destroy purposely* because the person who refuses to give them provisions, appears in their eyes devoid of hospitality, and consequently, devoid of feeling; an inhuman being."

According to this authority, good feeling and kindness of heart, are not the only sources of Indian hospitality; but, fear of that vindictive spirit which dwells in all their breasts, has at least some influence in disposing them to share their scanty stores with the stranger.

They are greatly addicted to the habit of smoking. The pipe is, with them, a symbol of amity; and, to smoke with a stranger, is a solemn pledge of friendship, which they never violate. "When they smoke, the first puff is upward, intended for the Great Spirit, as an act of homage to him; the next is to their mother earth, whence they derive their corn, and other sustenance; the third is horizontal, expressive

of their good-will"* to those around them. The smoke is on some occasions directed towards the cardinal points of the compass, in succession: but I have not been able to ascertain what idea they design to convey by that act. On their high days of ceremony, feasting, and council, the pipe is not permitted to touch the ground, but is carefully laid in forks, stuck up for that purpose. "Its bowl is ornamented with carved work, and surmounted with a comb. The stem is highly adorned with porcupine quills, of various colours, neatly braided in bands, and chequer-work, with the exception of a small part on each end, which is left to be painted over with green, or blue. Stems of this kind are appropriated to the chiefs; are carefully laid aside for grand occasions, and are presented to the agents of government, as tokens of their sincerity, at all public conferences. There is another kind of stem which is peculiar to the common warriors, or soldiers, and consists of a perforated rod, profusely ornamented with stained horse-hair, eagle's quills, and the beautiful green feathers taken from the head and neck of the wild duck."†

Wampum is, among a great number of the tribes, a medium of trade, a current money. It is of two kinds, white and purple. The white is worked out of the insides of large conques, into the form of a bead: the purple is made from the inside of the muscle-shell; and both are so perforated as to be strung on leather. After they have been strung, they are woven into bands, as broad as the hand of a man, and about two feet long. These are called belts, and are given and received at their treaties, as the seals of friendship. In less important in-

* Appendix to Morse's Report, p. 239.

† Schoolcraft's Journal, p. 300.

stances, a single string is given. Every bead is of a fixed value; and, a belt of a smaller number is made to equal that of a larger, by fastening so many as are wanting, to the belt, by a string.

The Indian mode of communicating information, under certain circumstances, is minutely described by Mr. Schoolcraft. "On quitting our encampment this morning, the Indians who were with us, left a memorial of our journey, inscribed on bark, for the information of such of their tribe as should happen to fall upon our track. This, we find to be a common custom among them. It is done by tracing, either with paint, or with their knives, on birch bark, a number of figures and hieroglyphics, which are understood by their nation. This sheet of bark is afterwards inserted in the end of a pole, blazed, and driven into the ground, with an inclination towards the course of travelling. In the present instance, the whole party were represented, in a manner that was perfectly intelligible, with the aid of our interpreter; each one being characterized, by something emblematic of his situation, or employment. They distinguish the Indian from the white man, by the particular manner of drawing the figure, the former being without a hat, &c. Other distinctive symbols are employed, thus, Lieutenant Mackay, was figured with a sword, to denote that he was an officer—Mr. Doty, with a book, the Indians having understood that he was an attorney—myself, with a hammer, in allusion to the mineral hammer I carried in my belt. The figure of a tortoise, and of a prairie-hen, denoted that these had been killed; three smokes, that our encampment consisted of three fires—eight muskets, that this was the number armed—three hacks upon the pole, leaning north-west, that we were going three days in that direction—the figure of a white man, with a tongue near

his mouth, that he was an interpreter. Should an Indian hereafter visit this spot, he would therefore read, on this memorial of bark—that fourteen white men, and two Indians, encamped at that place—that five of the white men were chiefs, or officers—one, an interpreter, and eight common soldiers—that they were going to Sandy Lake, knowing that three days journey, north-west, must carry us there—that we were armed with eight guns, and a sword—that we had killed a tortoise, a prairie-hen, &c.

“Here was a historical record of passing events, as permanent, certainly, as any written record among us, and fully as intelligible to those for whom it was intended.”*

“With respect to their divisions of time,” Sir Alexander M. Kenzie says, “they compute the length of their journeys by the number of nights passed in performing them; and they divide the year, by the succession of moons. In this calculation, however, they are not altogether correct, as they cannot account for the odd days. The names, which they give to the moons, are descriptive of the several seasons. May is the frog moon; June, the moon in which birds lay their eggs; (in the cold climate of the north) July, the moon when birds cast their feathers; August, the moon when the young birds begin to fly; September, the moon when the moose deer cast their horns; October, the rutting moon; November, hoar frost moon; December, whirlwind moon; January, extreme cold moon; February, big moon, some say old moon; March, eagle moon; April, goose moon.”†

The tribes, over our whole continent, make their computations of time on the same plan; the names

* Schoolcraft's Journal, p. 211—213.

† History of the Fur Trade, p. 73.

for the different moons, are not every where among them the same, but are regulated by the climate.

There is some indistinct idea, of the motions of a few celestial bodies, among them. But it would be absurd, to dignify their crude observations, on such subjects, with the appellation of astronomical knowledge.

In concluding this variegated and unconnected chapter, my readers may be amused with a glance at the character of a chief, whose name is familiar to many Americans.

“Meshecunnaqua, or the Little Turtle, was the son of a Miami chief, by a Mohecan woman. He was not a chief by birth: but his talents raised him to distinction. He was in the two actions with the detachments of General Harmer’s army, near the Miami towns, afterwards Fort Wayne; and he, with Buckongehelas, planned, and commanded, in the great action, which resulted in the defeat of General St. Clair, in the year 1791. He was also in the action of Fort Recovery, the same spot where General St. Clair had been defeated, in which a detachment of the American army, under the command of Major M’Mahon, was beaten.

“But what distinguished the Turtle from other Indians was, his ardent desire to be informed of all that relates to our institutions: and he seemed to possess a mind capable of understanding and valuing the advantages of civilized life, in a degree far superior to any other Indian.

“In the frequent visits which he made to the seat of government, he examined all objects with an inquisitive eye; and did not fail to embrace every opportunity of acquiring information, by inquiry, from those with whom he could take that liberty.

“Upon his return from Philadelphia, in 1797, he staid several days with Governor Harrison, at that

time, a captain in the army, and commander at Fort Washington. He told the captain, that he had seen many things, which he wished to have explained; but said, he was afraid of giving offence by asking too many questions. My friend here, said he, meaning the interpreter, being about as ignorant as myself, could give me little satisfaction. He then desired the captain to tell him, how our government was formed; and what particular powers were exercised by the two Houses of Congress, by the President, the Secretaries, and others. Satisfied on this subject, he told the captain, he had become acquainted with a great warrior, while in Philadelphia, in whose fate he was much interested, and whose history he wished to learn. This was Kosciusko, who, when he learned that a celebrated Indian chief was in the city, sent for him. They were pleased with each other, and the Turtle's visits were often repeated.

“The Turtle told Captain Harrison, that he wished very much, to know in what wars his friend had received those grievous wounds, which had rendered him so cripple and infirm. The Captain showed him, upon a map of Europe, the situation of Poland, and explained to him the usurpation of its territory by the neighbouring powers, the exertions of Kosciusko to free his country from this foreign yoke, his first successes, his final defeat and captivity. Whilst Harrison was describing the last unsuccessful battle of Kosciusko, the Turtle seemed scarcely able to contain himself. At the conclusion, he traversed the room with great agitation, violently flourished the pipe tomahawk with which he had been smoking, and exclaimed, ‘Let that woman (the Empress Catharine) take care of herself, this may yet be a dangerous man.’

“Some anecdotes, relative to the Empress and her favourites, were then narrated and explained to the Turtle. He was informed, that the King of Poland had been elevated by her to the throne, and afterwards driven from it. He was much astonished to find that men, and particularly warriors, would submit to be governed by a woman. But when he better understood the character of the Empress, he said, if his friend Kosciusko had been a stout, handsome man, he might, perhaps, have succeeded better with her Majesty of all the Russias, and, by a love intrigue, might have obtained that independence for his country, to which his valour and skill in the field were unequal.

“The Turtle was addicted to jesting, and possessed considerable talent for repartee. At Philadelphia, he lodged in a house where an Irish gentleman, of much wit, became attached to him, and frequently amused himself by eliciting the Turtle’s jests. Both were sitting to the eminent painter Stewart, for their portraits. They met one morning in the apartment of Stewart, when the Turtle appeared to be rather more thoughtful than usual. The Irishman rallied him upon it, and affected to construe it into an acknowledgment of his superiority in jocular contest. ‘He mistakes,’ said the Turtle to the interpreter. ‘I had just thought of proposing to this man, to paint us both on one board, and then I would stand face to face with him, and blackguard him to all eternity.’

“The Turtle died in the spring of 1812, shortly before the declaration of war against Great Britain. He had been long affected with a disorder, which the army surgeon of Fort Wayne pronounced to be gout.”*

* Dawson’s Memoirs of Gen. Harrison. Note 3d in the Appendix.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE INDIAN POPULATION.

It is impossible to arrive at accuracy on this subject. Many estimates have been formed of their numbers: but they are all conjectural, and scarcely any two agree. The latest which I have seen is probably as near the truth as any other. It is published in the appendix to a report rendered by the late Doctor Jedediah Morse, to the Secretary of the War Department, in the year 1822. It comprehends a list of all their tribes within the limits of the United States, and of a few on our northern and southern boundaries, related to or intermingling with them. I shall not transcribe the catalogue of their barbarous names, but will state the result of the Doctor's estimate.

"Indians in New England	- - - - -	2,247
New-York	- - - - -	5,184
Ohio	- - - - -	2,407
Michigan and N. West Territories		28,380
Illinois and Indiana	- - -	17,006
Southern States, East of the Mississippi		65,122
W. of Mississippi and N. of Missouri		33,150
Between Missouri and Red River	-	101,070
West of the Rocky Mountains	-	171,200
Between Red River and Rio Del Norte		45,370
Total		<u>471,136</u>

"The average proportion of warriors to the whole number of souls is about 1 to 5. In some tribes it is more, in others less. In the tribes dwelling among white people, the proportion is about 1 to 3. The number of men and women in the Cherokee nation

is nearly equal. In the Menominee and Winnebago tribes, the women are a third more than the men. The number of children is much greater, in proportion to the whole number of souls in the two tribes last named, than in tribes mingled with white people.

“In Indian countries where fish constitute an article of food, the number in each family is about six. In other tribes where this article is wanting, the average number in a family is about five.”

The number of schools established for the education of Indians was thirty-one, in the year 1822. They are sustained by donations from individuals, from corporate bodies, from religious societies, from the government of the United States, and, in a few instances, from the governments of particular States. Other schools have probably been established since the year 1822; but I have not access to correct information with respect to them. The government of the United States contributed annually \$5,705 to the support of nine of these schools at the period above mentioned, and had then granted \$5000 for the requisite buildings at the location of two others, in the country of the Chickasaws, and \$1000 for buildings at the site of another among the Osages. The number of pupils at all the Indian seminaries of learning, was then eleven hundred.

In 1819, the sum of ten thousand dollars was by Congress appropriated, annually, for succeeding years, to the civilization of the Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONCLUSION: COMPREHENDING SOME REMARKS
ON THE PRACTICABILITY OF CIVILIZING THE
INDIANS.

THE Aborigines of America complain, that injuries, bitter in the extreme, have been accumulated on them by the whites. The Europeans invaded their country: on the slender right of discovery, claimed, and seized possession of it. The Indians are incapable of perceiving any just principle in that law of nations, which transfers to men from the eastern shores of the great salt lake, the soil on its western shores, because they found it unoccupied, except by human beings of a different complexion from themselves! They do not understand why it is, that those who have made the highest advances in science and improvement, become invested with the right of wresting from others who are in the least improved state of society, the country of their birth, and of their residence, and which had been that of their ancestors from time immemorial! They discover no agency but that of force, or of fraud, by which vast regions, once theirs, are now ours. "By the superiority of your power, and skill in arms," say they, "you have accomplished the entire destruction of many of our tribes; you have reduced others to feeble remnants; and will, perhaps, in process of time, exterminate our race! If you have extinguished some of our titles to lands, by contract, the bargain has been made, in most instances, while a rod of terror was held above our

heads, or when we were groaning under the bloody victories which you had gained over us !”

Such are the themes of their war-songs, and of their communications with each other, among the tribes who have been in habits of warfare with the people of the United States. Their animosity towards us is so fastened on their hearts, that more than one generation must pass away before it will cease to operate.

Among my captors there was a Shawanese, one of the two who spoke a little English, and whose name was Tootetha, or Baubee. When we had travelled a considerable distance from the river Ohio, I inquired from him how far it yet was to his town, and in what direction it was situated ? He promptly, and in good humour, answered those inquiries by marking on the ground a map of our route, and the position of his village. Indulging my curiosity, without apprehension of touching a string which might vibrate feelings of irritation, I asked how many inhabitants his town contained ? He replied, that his tribe had once been numerous : but so many had fallen by the hands of the whites, that their numbers were then greatly reduced. The introduction of this topic aroused him to an extremity of rage. He said, “his people were almost gone : but although the nation was nearly extinct, its spirit was not conquered ;” and added, holding up one finger, “so long as there is one Shawanese, we’ll fight ! fight ! fight ! When there is no Shawanese, no fight !”

The efforts commenced within the last few years by the Government of the United States, for the purpose of improving their condition, and gradually effecting their civilization, redound highly to its honour. The scale on which they have been hereto-

fore pursued, is too limited to be productive of substantial and extensive benefits. To be successful, it must comprehend a great number. The instruction of a few of their children in literature and science, will have little effect in civilizing a nation. On their return to the bosoms of their families, and to continued association with their uncultivated relatives and friends, they will, in a short time, forget what they may have been taught, and will assume, if they shall have ever renounced, the habits and manners of their people.

But, if some scheme could be devised, by which they might be induced to distribute their lands among the individuals of their tribes, to occupy them in severalty instead of holding them as national property, the era of their improvement would then certainly commence.* The adoption of such a system would lead to social regulations, and the enactment of laws : a train of consequences would result infinitely more auspicious to their welfare, than all they can now derive from missionaries, and such other instructors as have gone among them. The work of their civilization on an extensive plan, however judiciously formed, will be difficult of accomplishment. Many obstacles are to be surmounted. Their habitual indolence, that species of pride which disposes them to consider the labours of agriculture and other occupations, except those of war and the chase, as disgraceful, cannot

* The idea of a common right to property, which prevails universally among the Indians, renders them inattentive to the distinction between "mine and yours." According to their principles, there is nothing immoral in the conduct of the man who appropriates to his own purposes *any object* of his necessities, or of his desires. They are, therefore, in a great degree, indifferent to what we consider theft. Their notions on this subject would be completely revolutionized, by introducing the system of individual property, as it exists with civilized nations.

be easily subdued. To change the habits and character of a whole race, has been rarely effected. That inveterate hatred, which many of them bear to us, must subside, before they will yield themselves to our instruction.

It has occurred to me, that the best chance of success is obtainable, by commencing with those tribes that have never been at war with the Americans, and do not complain of any injuries received from us. Major Long's party found such tribes in the country west of the Mississippi. The journal of those gentlemen informs us, that the Big Elk, a Chief of the Omawhaws, held this language to them. "The Indians around, who tell the white people that they love them, speak falsely, as is proved by their killing the white people. But my nation truly love you; they have never stained their hands with the blood of a white man; and so much cannot be said of any nation of this land. He added a strong expression; that such was his attachment to us, he believed he should, at a future day, become a white man himself."* The journal also states that the Osages, as well as the Omawhaws, hold the people and government of the United States in the highest estimation, and, that the former "have repeatedly signified their strong desire, to be instructed by them, in the arts of civilization." In the appendix to Morse's report, Mr. Sibley, factor at Fort Osage, says, "although the Indians who have attained the age of twenty-five years, and upwards, generally refuse instruction, yet they seem by no means averse to have their children taught our arts.

That they are individually susceptible of civiliza-

* Long's Journal, Vol. 1. page 194.

tion, is incontestibly established by many facts.* But, to reform them by tribes, or by nations, is an enterprise not so easily achieved.

* NOTE.—Among other proofs, is a letter, signed by John Ross, and three other Cherokee Chiefs, addressed to Messrs. Gales and Seaton. It is said to have been written by Ross, who, as I am informed, is a half breed, and has been well educated, as the letter evinces. It is in a fine style of composition, and I will lay it before my readers.

WASHINGTON CITY,
Tennison's Hotel, April, 1824.

MESSRS. GALES & SEATON:

GENTLEMEN: We have read, in the Georgia Journal, of the 6th instant, a letter from the Georgia delegation in Congress to his Excellency Geo. M. Troup, the Governor of Georgia, and also some remarks of the Editor of that paper. However great our surprise has heretofore been at the course of proceeding of this delegation, as set forth in their letter to the President of the United States, and which the Georgia delegation consider "*respectful*," but which, if it be, is different in its style and temper from what we are accustomed to observe in our intercourse with *our* chiefs; yet this surprise has been much heightened at a new attempt to deprive us of another portion of our blessings. Not satisfied with wishing the Executive of the United States violently to rupture the solemn bond of our rights to our lands, and to put at defiance the pledges which existing treaties contain, *guaranteeing* to us our lands, it is attempted to take from us the intellect which has directed us in conducting the several negotiations with commissioners appointed to treat with us for our lands, and with the Executive government, by the unfounded charge, that "*the last letter of the Cherokees to the Secretary of War contains internal evidence that it was never written or dictated by an Indian.*" Whilst we profess to be complimented on the one hand, by this blow at our intelligence, we cannot, in justice, allow it to pass upon the other, *without a flat contradiction*. That letter, and every other letter, was not only *written*, but dictated by an Indian. We are not so fortunate as to have such help. The white man seldom comes forward in our defence. Our rights are in our own keeping; and the proofs of our loneliness, and the prejudiced eye with which every thing is looked upon which relates to us, by such a vast majority of those who should be our guardians and friends, have put us upon our resources, and we do thank God, sincerely, and our benevolent white brothers, for there are some Christian hearts which regard us, who, seeing our bereaved and helpless state, come in to our help with letters and the lights of civilization and Christianity. We felt the necessity of our case, and we have endeavoured to improve it. Our letters are our own; and if they are thought too refined for "*Savages*," let the white man take it for proof, that, with proper assistance, Indians can think and write for themselves. We refer the Georgia Delegation, and the Editor of the Georgia Journal, to our correspondence with their own Commissioners in our own country. They can tell whether the head of a white man conceived, or his pen dictated, the negotiations, on our part; or whether they were the lonely and un-

The most signal experiment of this kind, that has ever been attempted, was made in the seventeenth century, by the Jesuits, in the South American province of Paraguay. They established a government of their own over the Indians; introduced the arts among them, and, according to their own narratives, those of Charlevoix, and Ulloa, the reports of Chalatois, and of Monclar, referred to by Doctor Robertson, in the sixth book of the history of Charles the Fifth, the natives of Paraguay were brought to a considerable degree of improvement

assisted efforts of the poor Indian—whose home, now that it begins to blossom; and the seed time and harvest are greeted, and the chase abandoned, and churches are rising, and the Great Spirit is felt in his influence upon our hearts and our gratitude, and our little ones are learning to read his blessed word, and sing anthems in his praise for the gift of the Redeemer—yes, they can tell—whether they, from whom it is attempted to force all these blessings, and drive them into barbarity and savageism as cruel and as dark as ever—did, or did not, conduct their own correspondence. *We say we did—and we love the truth.* It is not for us to vindicate, or attempt to vindicate, our Great Father, the President of the United States; he does not need an Indian's aid, nor an Indian's eulogy; but, however, we are bound to love him, yet, it is due to justice to state, that we have been often pained, and especially of late, at the earnestness with which he has pressed upon us the subject of ceding our lands. Why he has acted thus, we were at a loss to conceive. We were not ignorant of the nature of the Convention of 1802. We knew every one of its promises. If, however, these are to be violated, and the fell war-whoop should ever be raised against us, to dispossess us of our lands, we will gratify the Delegation of Georgia, in their present earnestness to see us removed or *destroyed*, by adding additional fertility to our land, by a deposite of our body and our bones: *for we are resolved never to leave them, but by a parting from them and our lives together.* How the Christians of America, and of the world, will view their attempt upon our rights; this effort to force a kind and just President to violate the faith of treaties, and to dip his fingers in our blood, it is not for us Indians to say; but our cause is with God, and good men, and there we are willing to leave it.

We mean nothing disrespectful to any one; but justice and truth require that we should say this much, on the occasion to which we have referred.

We are, Sirs, respectfully, your obedient servants,

JOHN ROSS,
GEORGE LOWREY,
MAJOR RIDGE, his s mark.
ELIJAH HICKS.

and civilization. But an intelligent modern writer discredits these authorities. Mr. Bigland, in his "View of the World,"* says, "In the accounts of modern travellers, no marks appear of that exalted state of civilization which has been represented in colours so attractive, and of which the traces would scarcely have been so soon obliterated. And it is equally certain, that their armies, which in the writings of historians appear so numerous, and formidable, soon vanished before the European troops. There is, on the whole, strong reason to suspect, that the history of the power of the Jesuits in Paraguay, and of the civilization and happiness of their subjects, has been exaggerated; at first, perhaps, by themselves and their friends, in order to show the importance of their labours, and afterwards by their enemies, for the purpose of exciting the jealousy of the courts of Madrid and Lisbon," and of inducing them to abolish this order of Ecclesiastics.

I might cite other respectable authorities to the same effect. I believe no proof exists of the present enlightened state of the Paraguayans. If the Jesuits, who were eminently qualified for such an undertaking by the talents and knowledge which distinguished their order, were unsuccessful in effecting the permanent civilization of the people of Paraguay, what can be hoped from that class of instructors which is occupied in reforming our Indians? It is to be feared, too, that competent men will hardly engage in such a pursuit. What respectable character, not under the influence of an extravagant enthusiasm, would consent to abandon the comforts and society of civilized life, to spend his days among savages; and to subject himself to

* Vol. V. page 503.
X 2

all the privations, and other mischiefs, which he must encounter by dwelling among them? The missionary system has been in operation for more than one hundred years without producing any extensively beneficial effects on the Indians. This is, surely, a sufficient period for testing its merits.

Intercourse of individual with individual, and of nation with nation, is the great agent in the improvement of the human race.* But, if maintained by the unenlightened, with each other, only, it will be productive of no advantageous consequences. The Indians have heretofore associated with none but a worthless class of whites, on the borders of our settlements, utterly incapable of imparting to them any valuable knowledge. The few intelligent persons who have visited their tribes, have merely passed through their country, spent but a short time among them, and, of course, have communicated to them no improvement. They have had no inducement to commence, or to continue, intercourse with savages, but a curiosity to observe their manners, so unlike those of civilized man. The trade with Indians has been conducted by agents willing to reside in their towns, and more *assimilated to them* by that residence, than competent to produce any desirable change in their character. When the period of frequent, general intercourse between these people and the best class of whites shall come, substantial good may ensue to the Indians. But that period, from present indications, is very distant, and may never arrive.

Any plan which our Government may propose for civilizing the Indians, will be ineffectual, unless

* The Jesuits *prohibited all intercourse between the nations of Paraguay, and the people of all other countries.*

they shall accede to it. Nothing would be more idle than an attempt to instruct them against their consent : and, on this point, there is stubborn difficulty. The number of those who entertain such a disposition as the Omawhaws and Osages is very small. I might enumerate many facts, which have been made public, evincing the reluctance that prevails with most of them to renounce their present habits and modes of life, and to adopt ours. I will select two or three cases, which afford fair specimens of their general temper on such subjects.

The Omawhaw chief, Big Elk, who declared to Major Long's party, that he believed "he should, at a future day, be a white man himself," in a speech to the President of the United States, in February 1822, after repeating his former professions of friendship for the Long-knives, remonstrated against "learning his people to live as we do." "I am afraid," said he, "it is too soon for us to attempt to change habits. We have too much game in our country ; we feed too plentifully on the buffalo, *to bruise our hands with the instruments of agriculture.*"

A Letter from Mr. Sibley to Dr. Morse inculcates the same idea.

"I have noticed Indians observing with much apparent interest, the effects of our agricultural skill, our fine gardens, abundant crops, and numerous comforts and conveniences.

"A very sensible Osage, the Big Soldier, who had twice been at Washington, once said to me when I was urging the subject of civilization upon him: 'I see and admire your manner of living, your good warm houses, your extensive fields of corn, your gardens, your cows, oxen, work-horses, wagons, and a thousand machines that I know not the use of. I see that you are able to clothe yourselves even from weeds and grass. In short, you can

do almost what you please. You whites possess the power of subduing almost every animal to your use.' But after this acknowledgment, on his part, of our superior skill in the various arts, and this candid expression of his admiration, he continues thus :

“‘ You are surrounded by slaves. Every thing about you is in chains, and you are slaves yourselves. I fear if I should change my pursuits for yours, I should become a slave. Talk to my sons ; perhaps they may be persuaded to adopt your fashions ; at least to recommend them to their sons ; but for myself, I was born free, and wish to die free ! I am perfectly content with my condition. The forests and rivers supply all the wants of nature in plenty ; and there is no lack of white people to purchase the produce of our labour.’”

In May 1826, the Secretary of the war department, in a talk to the Florida Indians then at Washington, informed them, that one thousand dollars were intended by the Government of the United States to be applied to the support of a school, for the instruction of their children. They rejected the offer in most peremptory terms, and recited a legendary fable, probably invented for the occasion, by which they conveyed their clear opinion, that it is not *the intention of the Great Spirit, they should know how to read and write !*

This reluctance to leave ancient habits is not peculiar to our Aborigines. It was one of the most formidable obstacles encountered by Peter the Great, when occupied in his grand scheme of Russian reform ; and yet operates to counteract the advancement of unlettered nations in the different quarters of the globe. Voltaire tells us, “a most extraordinary instance, of the obstinate attachment of the Russians to their old customs, happened in

the time of Czar Bassilowitz, and undoubtedly influenced him, not a little, in the severity with which he treated his people. The King of Poland, Stephen Battori, having recovered Livonia, went himself into that province, to establish a new form of government. When any peasant, all of whom were slaves, had committed a fault, he was to be whipped with a rod, till the blood came. The King was willing to commute this barbarous punishment, for one that was more moderate. But, the peasants, insensible of the favour designed them, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated him not to make any alteration in their ancient customs."

Although Peter the Great possessed absolute authority, and controlled all the resources which power could demand, for the accomplishment of his views, yet, he was under the necessity of exerting artifice, address, and talent, to effect those views. He induced multitudes of artisans, mechanics, and men of science, to settle in his dominions: he introduced ship-building and commerce, before unknown to his subjects; and established a city, on a position much more advantageous for trade, than the ancient Metropolis of his empire. He thus secured *intercourse* with other nations *more advanced in improvement* than the Russians, and, by its agency, achieved a change in the manners and character of his people, which has immortalized his name. The Russians, when he began his scheme of reform, were not so deeply immersed in barbarism as the American savages. His people practised agriculture, and the art of writing was known to many of them.

But the Government of the United States can-

* History of Peter the Great, page 109, in a note.

not resort to the exercise of a sovereign power, over the numerous tribes of Indians, scattered from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, and from the great lakes to Mexico, upon any system which will enable it to work a great and immediate advancement of their civilization. We cannot foresee what events may arise in the progress of time, to bring about changes, which any government, however wise and benign, might, under present circumstances, in vain attempt to accomplish. When the game upon which they now subsist, and the animals which yield them skins, for clothing, and for their little commerce, shall be destroyed, a period which must arrive, they may, perhaps, become willing pupils in the schools of literature, science, and the useful arts. It is, however, to be borne in mind, that history contains no records of a Red or of a Black nation, which has rivalled the Whites, in the high attainments of genius and knowledge.

THE END.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A vertigo, with which I have been affected for many years, renders me incapable of applying myself to the business of writing, for any continued length of time. I have, therefore, been compelled to engage the assistance of a friend, in preparing my volume for the press. The work could not be accomplished without consulting books which were not in my possession, and which could not be found in the interior of Virginia, where my residence is, until lately. Unforeseen occurrences, and the indispensable avocations of my friend, who resides a considerable distance from me, left him but a few weeks for the imperfect view of "Indian Character and Manners," which has been exhibited, while my urgent importunity to hasten the publication has not afforded him the time for deliberate revisal. It was necessary for me to go to the North to engage the printing and superintend the press : and I was so situated, that if I did not go early this spring, I could not go at all. Hence the necessity of haste ; and such has been the hurry with which the part above alluded to has been finished, that the manuscript has been taken from him by me in detached parts, to be transcribed, so that he has never seen the whole of it

together; and as my principal reliance was on him to have it correct, I fear there will be found many errors and inaccuracies. But it is now too late to correct them; the ink with which the copy has been written, is hardly dry, before I am obliged to set out to the North: and, with trembling solicitude, it is ushered into the world, with all its imperfections on its head.

ERRATA.

Page 3, in the fourth line from bottom, for *Pigon*, read *Pigou*.

8, in the 17th line from top, for *Clendiner*, read *Clendenning*.

10, in the 8th line from Do. for Do. read Do.

10, in the 15th line from Do. for Do. read Do.









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